Politics: The struggle for power within a group

Power: The ability to influence or impose one’s will on others

Comparative Politics: The study and comparison of domestic politics- or struggle for power- across countries

Father of Political Science: Aristotle

Quantitate Method: Gathering statistical data across a large number of countries in order to look for correlations and test hypotheses about cause and effect (emphasis on breadth over depth)

Qualitative Method: Mastery of a limited number of cases through the detailed study of their history, language, and culture (emphasis on depth over breadth).

Inductive Reasoning- evidence drives hypothesis

Deductive Reasoning- hypothesis drives search for evidence

Dependent Variable- outcome, event, or effect to be studied (regime change)

Independent Variable- input or cause of the outcome, even or effect to be studied (weak state, foreign intervention, social unrest, and economic stagnation)

Correlation- apparent association

Causality- the relationship between an event and a secondary event where the second event is understood as a consequence of the first

NOTE: History is mainly descriptive while Political Science looks for relationships and broader implications

Institution: Douglass North (1991)- “Institutions are the humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic, and social interaction”

Formal Institutions- codified and established rules that are widely accepted as official

Informal Institutions- socially shared rules, often unwritten, that are created, communicated, and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels

NOTE: Weak vs. Strong institutions: how well the laws can be/are enforced

Dependent Variable: outcome event, or effect to be studied

Independent Variable: input or cause of the outcome, event, or effect to be studied

*Guns, Steel, and Germs (****NOTE: Main argument of Guns, Germs, and Steel on page 25)***

* Europe developed good production because of the orientation of the continent’s axes
* Agriculture led to livestock-> denser populations-> more resistance to germs
* Labor specialization led to new technologies (steel and guns) and forms of social organization (kingdoms)
* Competition between kingdoms-> sophisticated weapons and military strategies-> enabled success in foreign conquests

*Limits of Convergence*

* Social organization and government policy shape relative role of business groups, small firms, and multinationals

Biological and Cultural Explanations

* “Aryan” race succeeded because they were biologically superior (Nazis)
* “Protestant work ethic” enabled many European nations to successfully build capitalist societies (Max Weber, 1905)
* Asian Values (Lee Kuan Yew and Mahathir Mohamad 1990s)- Asian people are more communal and less concerned with collective rights yet very successful economically/monetarily

Institutional Explanations for Variations in Wealth and Development

* Karl Polanyi (1944): “States create markets”
* Alexander Gerschenkron (1962): “Economic backwardness in historical perspective”
* Chalmers Johnson (1982): Japan, MITI, and the “developmental state”
* Alice Amsden (1989): Korea and the state as disciplinarian of markets and private firms
* Dan Breznitz (2007): States have choices for industrial development

Max Weber (1915) - “The state is an organization, composed of numerous agencies led and coordinated by the state’s leadership (executive authority) that has the ability or authority to make and implement the binding rules for all the people as well as the parameters of rulemaking for other social organizations in a given territory, using force if necessary to have its way”

* The state needs to be able to independently carry out actions independently from external actors or internal rivals (ie: sovereignty)

Regime:

* The fundamental norms and rules regarding individual freedom and collective equality, the locus of power, and the use of that power
* A regime’s norms and rules are typically embodied in a constitution
* At the most basic level, regime type is often characterized as democratic or authoritarian

Norm: expectation of certain actions

Note: After regime change the institution doesn’t necessarily get replaced

Government:

* The leadership or elite in charge of running the state
* May consist of democratically elected legislators, president, and prime ministers, or it may consist of leaders who gained office through force
* Limited existing regime and therefore less institutionalized than regimes-> those in power are not viewed by the public as irreplaceable

More Institutionalized State (Judiciary, Police, IRS, Military, State and Lower Governments) -> Regime (Liberal Democracy as laid out in the constitution) -> Government (Obama Administration) Less Institutionalized

Origins of the Modern State

* Agriculture and domestication-> food surpluses, labor specialization, concern over property rights
* As societies grow, they require new mechanisms (eg: laws and justice) to handle disputes
* First complete organizations 8000 years ago in the Middle East
* Charles Tilly (1990): Europe’s highly fragmented , unstable, and violent environment led to new political organizations and constant competition
* Constant warfare generated rapid organizational evolution

Advantages of the State

* States that created laws, regulations, and infrastructure that protected property right and profits found that providing better protection-> more recourses to tax and fund armies
* States that encouraged technological innovation and commercialization found greater growth in goods and services
* States that provided domestic stability and fostered trade set the foundation of a common language, culture, and shared political identity

Treaty of Westphalia and the Modern State

* The Thirty Years’ War (1618-1648)
  + Roman Catholicism vs Protestantism or Bourbons vs Hasburgs? Religious struggle or power struggle?
  + One of the longest and most destructive conflicts in European history
* Treaty of Westphalia (1648)
  + Beginning of sovereignty-> fixed territorial boundaries
  + The authority of the pope was radically curtailed-> states could direct religion on their territories
  + Citizens now subject primarily to their governments, not religious figures in faraway lands

Legitimacy:

* Popular acceptance of an authority usually a governing law or regime
* Legitimacy creates power that relies not on coercion but on consent
* Without legitimacy, state would have to use the continuous threat of force to maintain order

Max Weber’s Three Sources of Legitimacy

* Traditional-- based in history, rituals and custom-- strong institutionalization-- Monarchy (Queen Elizabeth)
* Charismatic-- Built on ideas and personal qualities of an individual--weak institutionalization-- Revolutionary (Vladimir Lenin)
* Rational-legal-- founded on a system of rules and procedures-- strong institutionalization-- elected executive (Barak Obama)

Federalism vs Unitary States

* Federalism: a system in which significant state powers, such as taxation, lawmaking, and security, are devolved to regional and local bodies (USA, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Australia, Ethiopia, Germany, India, Nigeria, Switzerland, Belgium, Venezuela, Argentina, Russia)
* Unitary States: a system in which political power in concentrated and centralized at the national lever with limited local authority

O’Neil: Capacity vs Autonomy

* Capacity
  + “Ability of the state to wield power in order to carry out the basic tasks or providing security and reconciling freedom and equality”
  + HIGH capacity-> organization, legitimacy, and effective leadership to GET THINGS DONE
* Autonomy
  + “The ability of the state to wield its power independently of the public or international actors”
  + HIGH autonomy-> sate is not beholden to foreign states or powerful domestic special interests

Note: Capacity and Autonomy are independent of each other

Examples:

Military intervention beyond borders

* China- high capacity, high autonomy
* Germany- high capacity, low autonomy
* Somalia- low capacity, low autonomy
* Afghanistan- low capacity, low autonomy

Managing borders and illegal immigration

* USA- Low capacity, high autonomy
* Japan- high capacity, high autonomy
* Germany- high capacity, low autonomy
* Greece- low capacity, low autonomy

Political Order in Changing Societies- Huntington (1968)

* Examines why giving a country money does not automatically turn it into a democratic ally
* Each country needs a government with the ability to govern (doesn’t matter what kind of government a country has)
* Dependent Variable: political modernization- an establishment of government that can govern
* Independent Variables: social mobilization (how people are changing) and economic development
  + As economies develop, social relationships change, which causes instability
  + The more rapid the change, the greater the instability
* You can have order without liberty, but not liberty without order
* In a complex society, community cannot exist without politics and political institutions
* Institutional interests differ from the interests of individuals in the institutions
* Early stages of modernization often are marked by the emergence of fundamental religious movements
* Political extremism is stronger in wealthier areas
* Faster modernization leads to greater instability
* Alienated university graduates prepare revolutions

Note: Modern idea of “sovereignty” is new

Strong Societies and Weak States- Migdal (1988)

* Strong societies contribute to weak states because they resist the state and are unwilling to accept the state’s power as singular and legitimate
* The level of competition from other social organizations determines whether or not a state has the ability to govern effectively- they provided alternative survival strategies (jobs, shelter, security, food, etc); clans
* State capabilities include the capacities to penetrate society, regulate social relationships, extract recourses, and appropriate/use resources in determined ways
* The role of the state as the principal tool in “modernizing” society is often taken for granted
* The “state seems like part of the natural order but it is a fairly recent phenomenon
* State social control is needed to mobilize people and resources to ward off avaricious neighbors
* Social control rests on the organizational ability to deliver key components for individuals’ strategies of survival- jobs, housing, protection
* Many third world countries are very diverse and have web-like societies with competing sets of rules. Numerous systems of justice
* Our identities and understandings of who we are and how we fit into society are generated and constructed rather than being biological or genetic
* Identities can be layered and are not often not mutually exclusive
* Identities, like institutions, are sticky and not easily modified or eliminated
* New identities can be continuously added
* Ethnic identity:
  + A set of institutions that bind people together through a common culture
  + Often based on customs, language, religion, or other factors- though not always
  + People do not generally choose their ethnic identities- they are often assigned at birth
  + Not inherently political, though it can be politicized
* Race is a social construction
* National identity:
  + A set of institutions that bind people together through common political aspirations
  + Sometimes national identities are derived from ethnic identity though not always
  + National identity is inherently political
  + National identity is the basis for nationalism- “pride in one’s people and the belief that they have their own sovereign political destiny that is separate from those of others”
  + National identity may be constructed absent ethnic identity
* Citizenship:
  + An individual’s relationship to the state. The individual swears allegiance to the state, and the state in turn provides certain benefits or rights
  + Citizenship is purely political
  + Citizenship can be the basis for patriotism- pride in one’s state
* Overlapping identities
  + Canada and Quebec
  + China Tibet
  + Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Iran, “Kurdistan”

Huntington’s “Clash of Civilizations”

* Main Argument: the fundamental source of conflict in the future will not be primarily ideological or economic- it will be cultural
* 8 civilizations: Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American, African (possibly)
  + 4 largest Muslim populations are in Asia
* Criticisms:
  + His divisions are arbitrary and do not take account deep divisions within each civilization
  + Centuries of interstate war in Europe
  + China vs Taiwan
  + Japan as its’ own civilization???
  + What about Indonesia and Malaysia, where do they fit?
  + Most conflicts today are in fact civil wars
  + He discounts the ability to create new shared identities

Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War

* Motivating observation: 25 interstate wars vs 127 civil wars (1945-1999)
* Dependent Variable: prevalence of violent civil war
* Their independent variables/explanations: financial, political and organization weakness of state. Rough terrain, rebels with local power and knowledge
* Most conflicts are not ethnic, and occur within countries and not between them
* Main Argument: Where states are relatively weak, we are more likely to see the rise of would-be rulers who tax local populations and supply a rough local justice
* Odds of civil war is 5.35 greater in first 2 years of a state’s independent existence than in other years
* Poor people=bad country economy=no money for police force or military=insurgency

Republic: a government in which the head of state is not a monarch

* A republic is not necessarily the same as a democracy because the head of state is not necessarily elected
* Modern and ancient republics vary widely

Democracy: “modern political democracy is a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives” (Schmitter and Karl 1996); pg 2 of article in course reader

* Procedures that make democracy possible: (pg 54-55 in course reader)
  + Control over government decisions about policy is constitutionally vested in elected officials
  + Elected officials are chosen in frequent and fairly conducted elections in which coercion is comparatively uncommon
  + Practically all adults have the right to vote in the election of officials
  + Practically all adults have the right to run for elected offices in the government
  + Citizens have a right to express themselves without the danger of severe punishment on political matters broadly defined
  + Citizens have a right to seek out alternative sources of information that are protected by law
  + Citizens have the right to form independent associations, including political parties
  + Popularly elected officials must be able to exercise constitutional powers without being subjected to overriding opposition from unelected officials (ie: military)
  + The polity must be able to act independently of constraints imposed by some other overarching political system
* Democracies are not necessarily more efficient economically
* Democracies are not necessarily more efficient administratively
* Democracies are not likely to appear more orderly, consensual, stable, or governable than the autocracies they replace
* Democracies will have more open societies and polities than the autocracies they replace, but not necessarily more open economies
* Thin Definition of Democracy:
  + A system of governance in which the people choose their leaders by casting votes
  + Democracy is a system of uncertain results (competition) and certain procedures (Bunce, 2000, pg 714)
* Thicker Definition:
  + Above
* Thickest Definition:
  + The right to vote plus protection of all civil liberties including freedom of religion, speech, assembly, due process, etc.
* Where is democracy today?
  + 50% of the world lives in some type of democracy today
  + Countries are becoming more undemocratic (attributed to economic crisis and increasing media controls)
* Different approaches to democracy
  + Modernization theory
    - All countries will become democracies
  + Elites and democratization
    - It is in the best interest of elites to give up a portion of their own power (which they don’t). When election time comes around, they will often be ousted and lose their power and wealth entirely
  + International relations and democratization
    - Political and economic influence from other countries (ie: in order to join the EU countries had to be democratic)
  + Society and democratization
    - A civil society (social organizations outside the state/not inherently political) lays foundation for democracy
  + Culture and democratization
    - Western liberal democracy developed out of long liberal thought

Bunce (2000) Comparative Democratization

* Bunce’s purpose was to conduct a “lit review” and summarize “what we know about democracy”
* The ‘third wave” of democracy has changed the way that scholars understood not only why democratic transitions occur but how democratic governance is sustained
  + 1st wave: early 19th century and suffrage in USA
  + 2nd wave: period following WWII
  + 3rd wave: 1974 beginning with the revolution in Portugal, followed Latin America and USSR
* Five generalizations:
  + High levels of economic development function help sustain democracy (though may not bring it about)
  + Political elites are central to the founding and design of democracy and to its survival/collapse during crisis
  + Parliamentary systems are between than presidential systems in the continuation of democratic governance
  + Settlement of the national and state questions are crucial in the quality and survival of democracy
  + Democracies have uncertain results but varying certainly with respect to procedures
* The region in which a country is located shapes the economic structures and development and the character and continuity of political, social, and cultural institutions
* Historical experience and shared location matter
  + Ex USSR: authoritarian and hybrid regimes
  + Latin America: presidential systems
  + Europe: parliamentary systems

Executive Branch

* The branch that carries out the laws and policies of the state
* Head of state vs head of government (US President is both, Queen is head of state in UK)
  + Head of state represents the country in foreign affairs
  + Head of government deals with internal affairs
* Countries differ in the extent to which they combine or separate these roles

Legislative Branch

* The body charged with making or at least passing legislation
* Unicameral vs bicameral
* The majority of liberal democracies are bicameral
* The relationships between the upper and lower houses differs across countries

Judicial Branch

* The system of courts that interprets and applies the law in the name of the state
* Constitutional Court: court responsible with the task of ensuring that legislation is compatible with the constitution
* Power of the courts varies significantly across countries

Constitution

* A set of fundamental principles or established precedents according to which a state or other organization is governed
* Usually defines the distribution of power between the different branches of government
* Most are written though some are not
* Some are short and some are long
* Not all constitutions carry the same weight

Presidential System

* A political system in which the roles of head of state and head of government are combined in one executive office
* President and members of the legislature are elected independently and often for fixed terms
* Cabinet members are appointed and not elected
* Presidential systems are the minority of global political systems
* Some states have unlimited nonconsecutive terms

Parliamentary System

* A political system in which the roles of head of state and head of government are assigned to separate executive offices
* PM and his/her cabinet are not directly elected by people, but usually from the legislature/ruling coalition
* PM is typically the head of the party with the most seats in the legislature
* “Vote of no confidence”

Semi-presidential System

* A political system in that divides power between a president and a prime minister
* President enjoy fixed terms while prime ministers remain subject to the confidence of the legislature, and sometimes, the confidence of the president as well

Comparison of systems

* Parliamentary:
  + Benefits- PM and legislature can pass legislation quickly with confidence. Less deadlock
  + Drawbacks- PM is not directly elected. Legislation can be overturned more easily. Less public oversight. “No Confidence”
* Presidential:
  + Benefits- President has national mandate to create and enact laws. Laws that are passed are harder to overturn by future presidents
  + Drawbacks- When presidency and legislature are controlled by different parties, there is deadlock. Change is slow. Policymaking requires long negotiation. Presidents sometime have too much power
* Semi-Presidential:
  + Benefits- President with national mandate and PM to split the work. Less concentrated power
  + Drawbacks- Conflict between president and PM over powers and responsibilities, especially when from different parties

Political Parties

* An organization that brings together groups of people and ideas under the umbrella of some ideological mandate
* The goal is usually to nominate candidates for public office
* Non-democratic countries can have political parties, though usually not more than one

Electoral System: a set of rules that decides how votes are cast, counted, and translated into seats in a legislature (Pg, 132 in textbook)

* Single member district (SMD): an electoral district (constituency) with one seat
* Plurality SMD vs Majority SMD
* Tends to produce two-party systems
* Candidate-centric, weaker parties
* SMD systems are in the minority (US, UK, India, Nigeria, etc.)
* Proportional Representation (PR): an electoral system in which political parties compete in multimember districts. Voters choose between parties, and then the seats are awarded proportionally according to the results of the vote
* Allows minority parties to win seats
* Possibility of multi-party system and coalitions
* Majority of democracies use PR
* Pro SMD- candidates can connect with constituents, PR can lead to too much party control over who gets seats, PR and unwieldy coalitions can make it difficult to govern
* Pro PR- waste’s less votes, allows for greater range of political interests to be expressed, possibility of coalition governments and policymaking through consensus, spend less money and less time campaigning
* SMD->votes cast for individuals->candidate with largest share wins seat->fewer large parties
* PR MMD->votes cast for parties->seats divided among parties->more smaller parties
  + EXMP: there are 230 seats in the unicameral assembly. Constituencies are based on proportion of registered voters. Voters vote for one closed party list. 226 seats are allocated according to PR. There are 4 seats- 2 for Portuguese in Europe and 2 for Portuguese in the rest of the world. In the 2011 elections, the social democratic party formed a majority coalition with the People’s Party (weren’t able to form government on their own because they needed more than 50%). Together they had 132/230 seats. Pedro Passos Coelho (SD) is PM, chosen by party not voters.
* Mixed System->votes cast for individuals and parties->seats divided between individuals and parties->mixed outcome
  + EXMP: There are currently 622 seats in the 17th Bandestag (Germany). The voter casts two votes. The first vote is for the one of the 299 SMD seats. The second vote is for a party, 299 PR seats. The total seats for each party must reflect the % of votes in the party list, not SMD. The ruling coalition is then able to pass all legislation because they possess more than 50% of the seats. The other parties in parliament ensure that they’re voices are heard by threatening with a Vote of No Confidence, which could dissolve the existing coalition.
* Old Categories:
  + First World (Western Democracies)
  + Second World (Community Countries)
  + Third World (Everyone Else)
* New Categories:
  + Advanced democracies (countries with capitalist economic system, large service economies, liberal democratic regimes, and high levels of human development. The term does not represent “end stage” that other countries are heading towards. Advanced democracies are diverse, with different electoral systems. The roll of freedom varies [abortion, death penalty, privacy, drugs, and prostitution]. Level of political participation, as in who can and cannot vote. Types of constitutions are not always written or unwritten. Different relationships between the state, markets, and society such as liberal economic systems vs social democratic systems.), developed countries, or advanced industrialized countries
  + Newly industrialized countries
  + Developing countries
  + Less-developed countries
  + Communist countries
  + Post-communist countries
* Liberal Economic System: emphasis on individual freedoms over collective equality, limits the role of the state and regulating the market and providing public goods. Lower taxes. EX: USA, UK, New Zealand, Australia
* Social Democratic Systems: Emphasize collective equality over individual freedoms. Expands the role of the state in regulating the market and providing public goods. Higher taxes. EX: France, Germany, Scandinavian countries
* Common Challenges to Advanced Democracies:
  + Ageing populations and shrinking birth rates (fewer working people to support older generation)
  + Increasing costly welfare states
  + Increasing immigration (assimilation?)
  + Will these challenges make citizens of advanced democracies more pro-globalization or anti-globalization?
* Brief overview of EU
  + 1951 European Coal and Steel Community formed
  + 1967 European Community Created
  + 1993 European Union created
  + 1999 Creation of the Euro
  + 2002 Euro currency enters circulation
  + 2005 EU constitution rejected by many countries
  + 2009 Greek debt crisis, still unfolding
  + Currently 27 member countries of the EU
  + Eurozone was a political creation in order to tie Germany to the rest of Europe and prevent ANOTHER war
  + Same currency means that all countries have to have the same monetary policy, despite each country’s economy being different
  + Greek debt crisis began because interest rates dropped and thus the government began taking out tons of loans, which the government could not pay back
* EU Institutions:
  + European Council
    - 27 heads of state or government of member countries plus the President of the Commission
    - Current president is Herman Van Rompuy
    - Define political direction/priorities of the EU
    - Don’t actually do any policy making
  + European Commission- Executive Branch
    - 27 members, one from each state
    - Commission is responsible for legislation, upholding treaties, etc.
    - 1 of the 27 becomes the commission president, who is proposed by the council and elected by the parliament
    - The institution that proposes/enforces EU legislation and laws
    - Current president is Jose Manuel Barroso
    - Presidents rotate every 6 months
    - Working languages of all documents: English, French, German
  + Council of ministers- “Upper House”
    - 27 ministers , one from each state
    - Each council composed of ministers from each state in charge of a particular issue (England has separate ministers for agriculture, transportation, etc as does every country)
    - Approves or rejects legislation in conjunction with the Parliament
  + European Parliament- “Lower House”
    - 754 members elected every 5 years by the member states
    - Current president is Martin Schulz
    - On equal footing with Council and Commission
    - Seats distributed according to “digressive proportionality”
    - There are parties that exist only within the EU
    - In 21 countries, there is just one MMD
    - Each country elects its MEPs by its own PR rules
    - Each country is allotted a certain number of seats, then the EU citizens choose which parties to allocate those seats to
  + European Court of Justice
    - 27 judges-one form each country
    - Court usually hears cases in panels of 3,5, or 13
    - Resolves disputes over EU legislation and decides matters of EU law
    - Current president of the court is Vassilios Skouris
    - Mediates any disputes regarding laws that are brought forth by member countries
    - Based on a series of treaties
* Problems of EU expansion:
  + Old member states invested large sums to improve the economic and social conditions in new member states-> resentment
  + Firms within EU are locating to new member countries where wages are lower
  + Workers in poor member states seeking work in richer member state
  + More diversity in political and economic ideologies, making decision making more difficult
  + Turnout less than 50% for parliamentary election (EU citizens are not seeing EU as legitimate)
  + Tensions about Turkey, which is a candidate for membership. This is caused because Turkey would be the second largest country population wise (70 M), the majority of the population is Muslim, and their economy is weaker
  + No EU constitution
* The Eurozone
  + 17 of the 27 EU countries are members of the Eurozone
  + European Central Bank
    - Located in Frankfurt, Germany
    - Primary objective is to maintain inflation at 2%
    - Run by government, executive board (6), and governing council (17)
    - Current President: Mario Draghi
    - Does not print money
    - Generate monetary policy only for Eurozone countries
  + Advantages to Euro
    - Stimulate trade and investment in Eurozone
    - Reduce exchange rate risk and transaction costs
    - Foster a sense of “European identity”
    - Create a new reserve country-compare against the $ (oil)
    - Facilitates a common marketplace
  + Disadvantages to Euro
    - Too much economic diversity in EU (growth and unemployment) such that a single monetary policy is unstable
    - Current debt crisis highlights the problem of a single currency
    - Smaller weaker economies borrow too much because they are lured by the lower interest rates and other general benefits from being part of the Eurozone (Greece)
* NOTE: the EU Institutions do not deal with monetary policy, that is the responsibility of the European Central Bank
* NOTE: The EU does limit the power of individual country’s governments
* NOTE: There is not a single constitution, but The Treaty of Lisbon
* NOTE: primary reason for creating the Eurozone and EU was political
* NOTE: Half of the EU budget goes to subsidies to European farmers
* NOTE: The commission creates the legislation, and then Parliament and the Council of Ministers approve and alter it, and then the legislation is sent back to the Commission to be approved
* NOTE: EU is trying to make Parliament more powerful in order to encourage more EU citizens to vote, and consequently view the EU are more legitimate
* NOTE: Up to Germany to lead Eurozone out of its crisis because its economy is the strongest

Linz Articles

* Main argument: parliamentary systems produce more stable democracies than presidential systems
* Criticisms of presidential systems:
  + Unlike presidents, the prime ministers cannot appeal directly to the people over the heads of other members of parliament
  + USA the only presidential system with a long history of constitutional continuity
  + Presidents often abuse their power
  + Presidential systems are more rigid (term limits- winner take all elections which means that the president doesn’t have to take apposing party’s arguments into consideration, and it’s very hard to get rid of a president)
  + Sometimes the VP is weak
  + National mandate gives president the sense that he is “the voice of the nation” whereas the PM is merely the spokesman for the temporary governing coalition
  + No need for president to form alliances with opposing parties
* Currently 50% of the world lives in either an authoritarian or hybrid regime
* Countries are becoming less democratic, especially in the area of civil liberties
* Origins and Sources of Authoritarianism:
  + Poverty and inequality are strongly correlated with authoritarianism, but hard to prove a causality
  + Absence of civil society (non-state organizations- religions, sports, etc.)
  + International relations and foreign intervention
    - During cold war, US supported dictators in Guatemala, Argentina, Chile, Iran, etc. during the cold war
* Nondemocratic/Authoritarian Regime: a political system controlled by a small group of individuals who exercise power over the state without being constitutionally responsible to the public
  + Monarchy (absolute): a form of government where power is concentrated in a single individual (usually hereditary). No formal rules
    - UAE, Oman, Qatar
    - Brunei (constitutional sultanate)
      * His majesty Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan Haju Hassanal Bolkiah Mu’izzaddin Waddaulah
  + Dictatorship/Autocracy: a form of government in which a political power is concentrated in the hands of one person (not hereditary)
    - Syria, Burma, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Zimbabwe, Chad, Sudan
    - Around 70 countries
    - World’s longest serving Dictator is President Obiang of Equitorial Guinea (one of the worst dictators alive)
      * Located in central Africa
      * VERY rich in natural resources
* Cult of personality
  + President Saparmurat Niyazov, Turkmensitan from 1990-2006
  + Renamed months/days of the week/cities/airports after his family and himself
  + He closed all libraries outside the capitol (only books people needed to read were the Koran and the book he wrote)
  + 4th largest natural gas reserves in the world
  + Women were banned from wearing make-up because they were already beautiful
  + Dogs banished form the capitol because they smelled bad
  + Military Junta/Rule: a government led by a group of military leaders
    - Burma (1988-2011?), Egypt (2011-2012), Thailand (2006-2008)
  + Theocracy: “rule by G-d”; a political regime based on religion
    - Iran and Saudi Arabia (monarchy-theocracy)
      * King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al Suad Saudi citizens live under a strict Wahhabist interpretation of Sharia law
      * Excecution by public beheading is common for murder, rape, drug trafficking, etc
      * All women are required to have a male guardian; tey cannot leave home without permission
      * Sex segregation is expected in public
      * Women are not allowed to drive (only country)
      * Mutaween (religious police)
  + “Resource Curse”/ “Oil Curse” theory of Development: resources give leaders wealth without taxation, which allows them to ignore broader economic development and the public’s needs. Wealth tends to be concentrated in the hands of a few who use their political power to control access to the natural resources. This is especially problematic in the Middle East
* Zakaria on Authoritarianism and Fundamentalism in the Middle East”
  + Why is the Middle East the region with the most absolute monarchies?
    - Resource curse has allowed leaders to avoid economic development and be unresponsive to public needs
    - Bad governance has strengthened Islamic fundamentalism. The mosque became the place to discuss politics, where “all the hate and opposition toward the regimes collected and grew”
    - Foreign intervention and support
* Varieties of Authoritarianism
  + Totalitarian Regime: a nondemocratic regime with a highly centralized state and a well-defined ideology that seeks to fuse the institutions of the state, society, and the economy
    - Nazi Germany, USSR, North Korea
    - One party Rule: today’s China, Laos, Vietnam
      * North Korea is a dictatorship (cult personality plus hereditary succession)- totalitarian regime
      * Kim Jong-Il died in 2011, and was succeeded by Kin Jong-Un
      * Government-planned, state-owned economy
      * Average salary $47/mo (2004)
  + Illiberal Regime: rule by an elected leadership, though procedures of questionable democratic legitimacy, not much protection of civil liberties
    - This” partly free” variety if growing
    - Often presidential or semi-presidential systems, weak legislatures, fraudulent elections, state-controlled media
    - No trasnparency
    - Venezuela, Turkey, Singapore, Thailand, Honduras, Nigeria, Iran-ish
* Zakaria’s The Future of Freedom
  + Main Argument: “elections are an important virtue of governance, but they are not the only virtue. It is easy to impose elections on a country, it is more difficult to push constitutional liberalism on a society”
    - Before elections need to cultivate an independent judiciary, formation of parties (parties provide policy agendas), rule of law (gives laws legitimacy because they apply to EVERYONE, including people in charge)
    - Constitutions create a system of checks and balances to prevent the accumulation of power and the abuse of office
      * Venezuela- presidential system, President Hugo Chavez (1999-present), 1999: Public referendum to form a constitutional assembly to write a new constitution (passed). 2007: Public referendum to increase presidential term, get rid of term limits, and further centralize power in presidency (failed). 2009: public referendum to get rid of term limits for all elected officials (Passed)
      * Too much direct democracy is not good for governance because it bypasses the legislature who actually know what they’re doing and are able to draft effective policy
* Gat’s The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers
  + Marin Argument: authoritarian capitalist states, today exemplified by China and Russia, may represent a viable alternative path to modernity, which in turn suggests that there is nothing inevitable about liberal democracy’s ultimate victory- or future dominance”
    - Singapore: parliamentary system in which one party (Lee Family), the People’s Action Party, has been in power since 1959. Lee Kuan Yew is one of history’s longest serving prime ministers (son is now prime minster). Free and fair election. Rules of law, low corruption. Opposition parties permitted. Caning. Limitations on freedom of speech, assembly, and media. Lee family often sues for libel. Public gatherings of 5+ members require police permits. Organizations of 10+ require registration. Media is self-censored
  + Means of Political Control:
    - Coercion and surveillance
    - Co-optation: the process by which individuals outside of the regime are made dependent on the regime for certain rewards
    - Corporatism: a form of co-optation whereby the state controls the number of organizations that represent the interests of the public
    - Clientelism: a form of co-optation whereby the state or members of the state provides specific benefits to a single person or group for public support
    - Kinds of benefits that can be exchanged:
      * State jobs, government contract or licenses, roads, schools, access to state-owned assets, kickbacks and bribes
  + Corruption: the abuse of public office for private gain
    - Whenever a public official has discretionary power over distribution of a benefit or a cost to a private actor, economic incentives for corruption
    - Corruption causes citizens to lose confidence in their governance (no real justice)
    - Corruption may be caused by low salaries for bureaucrats who then feel the need to take bribes
    - Make sure corruption can be punished, raise salaries, etc in order to prevent corruption
* Political Economy
  + The study of how politics and economics are related and how their relationship shapes the balance of freedom and equality
  + The role of the state in managing the economy is different in each country
  + A political-economic system is the relationship between political and economic institutions in a particular country, as well as the policies and outcomes they create
  + No two political economic systems are exactly alike
  + Component of Political Economy:
    - Markets: the interactions between the forces of supply and demand that set the prices and allocate resources (goods and services)
      * There is no such thing as a free market. States enforce contracts, protect property rights, sanction activity, and regulate supply and demand where necessary
      * Property Rights must be enforced because they give reason for someone to invest. The point of a market is mainly to invest in physical property and/or capitol (if you can’t own anything then what’s the point)
      * Contracts in China are enforced through personal relationships
      * States are not always able to control markets
    - Property: ownership of goods and services. Property can refer to land, buildings, businesses, personal items, and intangibles such as intellectual properties (trademarks, copy rights, and patents)
      * If intellectual property rights not protected there’s no incentive to invent and generate new intellectual property
      * Without state power, property is insecure
      * Property rights must be created and enforced by the state
    - Public Goods: Goods and services provided or secured by the state that are available for society and cannot be owned by a private person or organization
      * Usually non-excludable and non-rivalrous (at least to citizens)
      * Roads, bridges, national defense, health care, education, transportation, parks
        + The US is the only liberal economic country without national health care
  + Economic tools of the state:
    - Taxation
      * + A key source of revenue for most states
        + Some countries rely on high personal taxation while other rely on taxes on businesses or goods and services
        + All countries struggle with finding the right mix and level of taxation- need to balance generating revenue to pay for public goods and social expenditure without stunting economic growth
        + Countries treat individuals and corporations differently

In the US, the income from foreign operations is only taxed when the income is brought back to the US

* + - * + Some countries don’t charge income taxes at all
        + The majority of the world operates on the Residential System
      * Territorial System: residents are only taxed on local income
      * Residential System: residents are taxed on worldwide income
      * Citizenship –Based System: even citizens who are not residents are taxed on their worldwide income
    - Fiscal Policy: government policy concerning the budget
      * Taxation (revenue) and expenditure
      * 20% of expenditures in the US economy are made by the government
      * A balanced budget is necessary because otherwise a country may incur a deficit, which requires borrowing money from other countries which is then paid with interest, meaning that much of the country’s money is spent solely on paying interest and not on other public goods and services
      * Fiscal policy becomes an international concern because other countries are holding that debt
      * Hen governments have to borrow money to finance budget deficits
    - Monetary Policy: government policy that seeks to control the money supply, which effects the economy
      * The Federal Reserve (Central Bank) manages the US’s money supply
      * Raising and lowering the discount rate- rate that the Fed charges other banks= which indirectly affects market interest rates
        + When the Fed raises interests rates, banks raise their interests rates for individuals in order to maintain profit margins
        + Lowering interest rates increases borrowing and thus increases investments and individuals’ expenditures. However, this increases inflation (too much money in the system, causing the currency to be devalued) and causes people who cannot repay their loans to receive loans
      * Inflation: the rise in the general level of prices of goods and services in an economy over a period of time
        + When the general price level rises, each unit of currency buys fewer goods and services

However, people’s salaries are not increasing

* + - * + Hyperinflation: inflation that is more than 50% a month for more than 2 months

In 2008, 1 billion Zimbabwe dollars were worth $1

* + - * + The Fed must balance interest rates and money supply such that inflation and unemployment are kept low
        + States may meddle in central banks in for political gain. To prevent this, fixed terms for heads of Fed are in place, and the appointments and/or elections do not coincide with other elections
      * Exchange Rate Policy: government policy that manages the value of a country’s currency in relation to the currency of other countries
        + The US has a floating rate, meaning that market transactions determine the value of the dollar
        + Managed or dirty flow: exchange rate is kept within certain parameters, meaning that there is some flow but it is highly restricted by the government
        + Fixed exchange rate (very few countries have fixed exchange rate)

Some countries have adopted the dollar, which makes trade easier, and forces them to rely on the stability of the US economy and US fiscal policy (however they cannot effect the value of their currency)

A higher currency value allows one to buy more imports, while a lower currency value allows the country to export more

* + - * Trade Policy: government policy that affects the price of goods and services when they cross the boarder
        + Tariffs (taxes on imported goods)
        + Nontariff barriers (quotas, safety standards [could exclude a certain product, such as genetically modified foods or certain drugs or beauty products. US car imports are restricted because we have high safety standards], labor standards[incentive for outsourcing], environmental standards)
        + Sanctions and embargoes [US has sanctions on Cuba and Iran]
        + There is no such thing as free trade!!! (every country has policies that benefit domestic producers and the general domestic economy)
        + Trade Regulation:

Positives:

To generate state revenue

To foster local industry

To protect local jobs

To keep wealth in the country

Negatives:

To promote competition

To keep the costs of goods low

To stimulate domestic innovation in areas of comparative advantage

International competition

Regulation policy: rules to orders that set the boundaries of a given procedure

Trade regulations: tariffs/non-tariffs barriers

Economic regulations: food, energy, transportation, telecommunications

Competition regulations: anti-trust, “natural” monopolies

Social regulations: safety, environment, education, consumer protection (ie: privacy)

* + - Four Ideal types of political economic systems
      * Liberalism: a system in which freedom is emphasized over collective equality
        + The state should be somewhat constrained in its autonomy and its capacity
        + State should not involve itself in the economy except for the protection of property rights and key public goods like defense and education
        + Some level of unemployment is inevitable and even desirable (they have the freedom to higher people during times of economic boom, and fire people to decrease cost)

In Japan, it is extremely difficult to fire someone. This generates employee investment in the well-fare of the company, and employee investment in increased specialization which increases productivity, efficiency, and effectiveness

In the US, there are specialized machines that allow for unspecialized workers, while in Japan companies can’t afford these machines and need specialized workers

* + - * + Regulation should be light, so as not to interfere with competition and innovation
        + “laissez-faire” (“free”) capitalism

EX: USA, UK, Canada, New Zealand, Australia

* + - * + Adam Smith’s Invisible Hand: by pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it (Smith, 1776)

Markets perform best when consumers and producers are free to act in their self-interest

Changes in supply and demand automatically and dynamically affect prices, production and investment

* + - * Social Democracy: collective equality and individual freedom are attempted to be equated, with a bit more emphasis on collective equality
        + Similar foundation of markets and private property, but with greater emphasis on equality
        + State capacity and autonomy enhance to provide public goods such as health care, education, maternity leave, etc
        + Unchecked economic development produces greater inequality by concentrating wealth in the hand of a few; being weary of the invisible hand
        + Higher taxes, but more public goods, and less inequality

EX: France, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Sweden, Germany

* + - * State-Led Communism: equality is emphasized over individual freedom
        + The state’s role is to transform society form capitalism to communism where all people are equal
        + No private property or market. The state owns all property and centrally controls production and distribution
        + The entire economy becomes a public good
        + No competition, no private enterprise
        + Everyone works for the state and is dependent on the state for housing, jobs, food, healthcare, etc

EX: USSR, pre-1978 China, Cuba, North Korea

* + - * State Capitalism (Mercantilism): the state is more important than both equality and freedom because the state wants to perpetuate itself
        + The domestic economy is an instrument that exists to strengthen the state by generating wealth that can be used for national power
        + Active industrial policy where the state seeks to direct investment through taxation, subsidies, and trade protection
        + Mixture of state and private ownership
        + “Managed” competition and markets

Japanese allowed the domestic markets to be competitive, but prevented foreign automakers from entering the market

EX: Japan, India, South Korea, China, Russia.

More commonly associated with authoritarianism than democracy

* + - * LOOK AT SLIDES FOR COMPARISON OF FOUR SYSTEMS
    - GINI Index and Inequality (financial inequality amongst people, as in the income difference between the poor and wealthy)
      * UN International Human Development Index: examines education, life expectancy, and GNI per capita
        + Out of about 160 countries, the US is in the 20s
        + The US is the only industrialized country that does not have statutory requirements in employers to provide paid holidays, paid parental leave or paid suck days
        + Dutch workers (similar productivity to American workers) work fewer hours, get 6 weeks of paid vacation, and an 8% holiday bonus
        + In Sweden, working parents are given 16 months paid leave after having a baby
        + Social mobility in the US is decreasing
      * Problems with within-country inequality
        + Untapped human capital and uncompetitive labor force
        + Limits on the growth of domestic economy and consumption lower wages-> less consumption
        + REFER TO SLIDES FOR THE REST!!!!
  + Newly Industrialized Countries: historically less developed countries that have experienced significant economic growth and democratization
    - EX: Ecuador, Philippines, Egypt, South Africa
  + Less Developed Countries: a country that lacks significant economic development and political institutionalization
    - EX: Haiti, Bangladesh, Libya, Mali, Somalia
      * Difficulty “Catching Up”:
        + Newly formed states found it difficult to perform basic tasks- build infrastructure, provide basic services (the previously leaders of the institutions were form the colonizers, and no one knew how to run them. New nations had been dependent on colonizers for defense, and they then did not possess the necessary recourses. IE: No capacity or autonomy. There was also likely a smaller educated class because the colonizers had suppressed mass education. Additionally, people were suddenly left to create and govern an entirely new country and infrastructure. Migdal’s Strong Societies Weak States also applies. Often the territory was poorly divided, and would put very diverse populations together, which created divisions and conflict [Rowanda]. No legitimate monopoly over violence/social control. Weak states are prone to instabilities. Colonial legacies created issues in terms of who would hold power, who had held power, and how that would balance out)
      * Colonial Legacies:
        + Positive: some political, economic, and social institutions (schools, state), transportation, agriculture, and industrial infrastructure was left
        + Negative: arbitrary border, colonial favoritism of certain ethnic groups, and domination of settlers over indigenous groups (South Africa, Latin America), “dependent development”- commodities based economy, gender roles that decreased women’s rights, no infrastructure to develop internal industries
      * How Less Developed Countries Catch Up:
        + LDCs need to build state capacity development
        + There is an emerging consensus around the problems but no the solutions
* There have Been Regional Differences in Development
  + Asian has fared the best at catching up
    - Export-led industrialization- successful, but it requires the existence of a market, this type of market creates an over dependence on exports and other countries, and it requires a certain level of state capacity to invest in the right industries and invest in a proper manner
  + Africa fared the worst
    - Lack of political and economic institutions, arbitrary borders
  + Latin American is mixed
    - Import Substitution (placed high tariffs on imports in order to induce domestic industry)- this worked for a while, but did not allow the domestic creators to have international competition. In order to maintain business, the domestic companies turned to the state, which drained the state’s treasury, and led to economic stagnation
  + REFER TO SLIDES FOR COMPARISON BETWEEN IMPORT SUBSTITUTION INDUSTRIALIZATION AND EXPORT-LED INDUSTRIALIZATION
* Gerschenkron- Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective
  + Main Argument: “The intuitional instruments required for late industrialization vary based on timing and industrialization”
  + The more backward a country, the bigger the role of the state in the process of industrialization
  + These institutions are needed to accumulate capital
  + There are certain advantages to backwardness- no existing infrastructure to replace, able to use existing technologies
    - Examples:
      * UK: no need for special institutional instruments. Capital accumulation over a couple of centuries
      * France and Germany: industrial banks to provide capital for the “railroadization”/industrialization of the country
      * USSR: the state, the communist regime
        + The later you industrialize, the larger the role of the state. This creates a powerful state that has a greater chance of becoming an oppressive dictatorship and/or regime
        + There is also a need for entrepreneurship, which does not have a great relationship with a state that is so involved in the economy (ie: the big state needs to shrink)
        + “There are no four-lane highways through the parks of industrial progress. The road may lead from backwardness to dictatorship and from dictatorship to war”
        + The advanced countries cannot afford to ignore economic backwardness
  + Difficulty downsizing the large states that were used to help industrialize. Those big states are not good at innovation
  + He fails to realize that not all states may be able to develop institutions that allow the country to industrialize
    - Nations did not necessarily have competent people
    - They may not have had required institutions
    - Potential institutions separate from the state that challenge its power
* Rodrik- One Economics, Many Recipes
  + Main Argument: first order economic principles (protection of property rights, contract enforcement, market-based competition, appropriate incentives, sound money (currency that doesn’t suffer from high inflation), debt sustainability) are universal
  + However, the institutions that create these outcomes can and do vary considerably based on local conditions
  + Necessity of experimentation
  + Washington Consensus:
    - Fiscal discipline and tax reform
    - Trade liberalization
    - Competitive exchange rates
    - Openness to FDI (foreign direct investment)
    - Privatization and deregulation
  + The East Asian countries that grew so rapidly didn’t follow the Washington Consensus
  + China’s “transitional institutions”
    - Farmers had to provide a set quota to the state for a fixed price but were then allowed to sell any surplus at market prices (this created an incentive to produce a larger surplus while maintaining the state’s needs)
    - Local governments allowed to form TVEs to produce consumer goods at market prices (because they were cautious of private enterprise-> government officials became entrepreneurs because they were allowed to keep some of the profits)
    - Fixed exchange rate and capital controls (made their exports more competitive by not allowing their currency to be traded internationally. This means that the international market place for currency isn’t affecting the Chinese currency)
    - “These unorthodox institutions worked precisely because they produces orthodox results” (24)
  + Growth spurts are associated with a narrow range of policy reforms that stimulate private sector-friendly growth
    - Incentives for investment and economic activity by private actors
  + These transitions often combine orthodox and unorthodox institutional practices
    - Ie: market liberalization and some public intervention
  + Institutional innovates do not travel well
    - Attempts to emulate successful policies elsewhere often fail (institutions are different, local conditions are different; IT’S A DIFFERENT COUNTRY)
    - Policy experimentation/trial-and-error required to see what works
  + Sustaining growth is more difficult than igniting it
    - More extensive institutional reform is required. Like losing weight
  + There is no strong relationship between political participation (ie: democracy) and average levels of long term democracy
    - However, living under an authoritarian regime is riskier than living under a democracy, meaning you are somewhat more likely to witness higher long-run growth rates if you live in a democracy
* Evans- Embedded Autonomy
  + Main Argument: “One of the few universals in the history of the 20th century is the increasingly pervasive influence of the state as an intuition and social actor”
  + “State involvement is a given. The appropriate question is not ‘how much’ but ‘what kind’”
    - States have different roles in development
    - Focus on two idea types:
      * Predatory States:
        + Extract recourses at the expense of society, often undercutting development
        + Lack of ability to prevent clientelism and corruption. Individuals within the government pursuing their own goals and utilizing their office for personal gain
        + Lack of professional bureaucracy
        + EX: Zaire
      * Developmental State:
        + Highly selective and meritocratic professional bureaucracy
        + Embedded autonomy- removing politicians from bureaucracy in order to prevent policy from being politicized

The bureaucracy has to be insulated from politics but embedded in society

Institutionalized channels for negotiation between the state and private industry to negotiate and re-negotiate goals/policies

EX: Japan, Korea, Taiwan

* Gershenkron vs Rodrik vs Evans
  + How would you compare the arguments of these three authors?
    - What is each scholar trying to explain?
    - Are their explanations fundamentally different or are they compatible?
* The Economist- State Capitalism
  + State capitalism-which melds the powers of the state with the powers of capitalism- is challenging liberal capitalism
  + EX: China, Russia, Brazil, and wealthier Middle Eastern countries (UAE, Saudi Arabia)
    - States, such as China subsidize things for countries, such as inputs, prevent international competition from entering the domestic market, state policies can be tailored for the benefit of domestic companies (tax subsidies, indirect help, etc). In China, the government controls the banking system, which means that the Chinese domestic companies have access to cheap capital
  + Their scale is huge and their tools are more sophisticated. Politicians have far more power than they do under liberal capitalism
  + States are very good at infrastructure, but not so good at innovation
  + Drawbacks to State Capitalism:
    - Inefficient allocation of capital to SOEs
    - Government has accrued a lot of bad debt
    - SOEs are sources of jobs and political clout
    - SOEs are way too big to fail
    - SOEs crowd our entrepreneurship/innovation
    - Too much of a close link between the government and SOEs
  + What does this mean for the West
    - Challenge in multilateral institutions (WTO) by successful state capitals (are these companies politicized?!)
* United Kingdom
  + Constitutional Monarchy- monarchy doesn’t have absolute power, political power is established by constitution
  + UK- Scotland, England, Wales, and Northern Ireland
  + Great Britain- Scotland, Wales, and England
  + Parliamentary system with SMD
  + Unitary system- doesn’t share power with regional governments
  + Head of State: Queen Elizabeth II (1952)
  + Head of Government: David Cameron (2010)
  + 63 Million people
  + GDP PPP: $2.29 trillion
    - 8th largest economy in the world
  + Land size- equivalent of Oregon
  + Multi-ethnic
    - 92%- white 2%-black 3%- south Asian 3%- other
  + World’s oldest democracy (evolved over centuries)
    - 13th century- limitations on absolute monarchy (Magna Carta and 1st parliament)
    - 16th century- separation from Vatican
    - 17th century- rule of law (Glorious Revolution [monarchy owes their position to parliament, beginning of constitutional monarchy], the Bill of rights, and the beginning of constitutional monarchy)
    - 19th century- suffrage for all urban men (less than 10%)
    - 20th century- suffrage extended to women
  + FOR POLITICAL SYSTEM REFER TO SLIDES
    - Regional legislature- Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland all have their own legislatures
  + UK Westminster Parliamentary System
    - House of Commons (lower house)
      * Currently 646 seats
      * Elections held every 5 years
      * Very strong party system
      * The majority party in the UK has virtually unchecked power (no deadlock because they have majority of the seats and have chosen the PM, don’t have to compromise, the upper house doesn’t have much power, all laws passed in lower house are law [no constitutional check])
      * Vote of no confidence only used once in last 70 years
      * Parties are much more powerful than MPs because they owe their power to their parties
      * Conservative Party had to form a coalition with the Liberal Democratic Party
        + Conservative Party- 304 seats
        + Labour Party- 250 seats
        + Liberal Democrat Party- 57 seats
        + Other Parties- 30 seats
        + Speaker and Deputy Speakers- 4 seats
        + Total Seats- 645
        + This is the first coalition formed since Winston Churchill
    - Prime Minister:
      * David Cameron
      * Leader of the majority party in the House of Commons
      * Their power depends on their party
      * PM always seasoned political veterans, on average, with more than 20 years of experience in the House of Commons
    - Cabinet:
      * PM typically appoints leading party officials to the top cabinet positions
      * Usually 20 members, all of whom must be members of Parliament
      * Most important ministries: Foreign Office (foreign policy), Home Office (the judiciary), and the Exchequer (financial policy- Chancellor is head of central bank)
      * Collective Responsibility- if an unpopular decision is made, all members of the cabinet must outwardly show support, or resign
    - Electoral System
      * SMD with FPTP
      * Constituencies based on population
      * 60-70% of people vote
      * Implications:
        + Dominance of two major parties
        + Voters vote more on party than candidate
        + Since WWII, most votes were wasted
        + 60% of all seats have been won with a minority of votes because a party only needs a plurality of votes to win a district because there are other parties running
        + UK voted down electoral reform in 2011
    - House of Lords (upper house)
      * Currently 750 member appointed for life by the crown upon recommendation of the PM
      * No veto power but can delay and sometimes amend legislation
      * Some discussion over whether the House of Lords should be directly elected and given greater power
  + UK Judicial System
    - Legal system based on common law, which focuses on precedent and interpretation
    - No constitutional court
    - The role of courts in the UK is to ensure that parliamentary statutes have been followed
    - Traditional, the House of Lord was the highest judicial authority
    - 2009: New Supreme Court created, increasing importance of judicial review
  + Political Parties
    - Labour Party
      * 1945- Ascendance of the party after WWII. Creation of the UK’s state
      * 1970’s- less blue collar jobs led to a decline of the party’s base
      * 1979-1997- lost ever election
      * 1997-2007- Tony Blair and the Third Way (similar to Margaret Thatcher’s agenda)
    - Conservative Party
      * History of the party dates 18th century
      * Also known as the Tories
      * 1979-1990- Reign of Margaret Thatcher and neoliberal economic policies (ie: deregulation, privatization of state-owned sector, and flexible labor markets)
      * 2010: David Cameron and new coalition
  + UK Economic History
    - 18th century- 1st country to undergo industrial revolution
    - 19th century- British empire governed ¼ of the world’s population and ¼ of the world trade
    - 20th century- Decline of British Empire, gradual drain on recourses, gradual decolonization
    - -> break up into 50+ countries
    - Why the UK economy has been in decline
      * Because it was the first country to industrialize, England is having issues adapting to new technology and adapting new infrastructure
      * There has been a huge drain of British empire
      * Trade Unions that are too powerful, which makes companies move because it’s very expensive to operate in the UK
      * History of restrained state- no history of active industrial policy
    - Tourism and financial sector are strongest sectors in British Economy
    - Currently 8% unemployment
    - 14% of population lives below the poverty line
    - Gini Index: 34 (less inequality than in the US)
    - Top 10% control about 28% of income (US-30%)
  + Future Challenges
    - Increasing inequality and clashes with new immigrants from Eastern Europe and South Asia
      * 2005: London Bombings. 52 people killed, 700 injured. 3 out of 4 terrorists were born in the UK
    - Finally peace in Northern Ireland?
    - Scottish referendum on independence in 2014
    - Reverse Economic Decline?
    - Role of the UK in the EU?
    - Increasing alienation from the United States over Iraq War
  + UK and the EU
    - 30% of people in the UK believe that membership in the EU is a good thing (60% Germany, 48% France)
    - 29% of people trust EU (50% Germany, 43% France)
    - No support to join Eurozone
* South Africa
  + Parliamentary System with PR
  + 3 capitals: Pretoria, Cape Town, and Bloemfontein
  + Unitary System
  + Head of State and Government: Jacob Zuma (2009)
  + Population: 48 million
  + GDPPPP: $562 billion- 26th in the world and largest in sub-Saharan Africa
  + Land size is almost twice the size of Texas
  + Majority of people live on less than $1.25 a day
  + Multi Ethnic- 79% black, 10% white, 9% colored 2% Asian
  + History
    - 17th century- Dutch (Boers) settled at Cape Town, followed by some French, Flemish and German. This group became the Africaners. Enslaved local people, were very brutal
    - Late 19th century- Anglo-Boer Wars over gold, slavery, diamonds, and trade routes to India. British ultimately prevailed but with vicious tactics (concentration camps)
    - 1910- Union of South Africa. Unification of four separate colonies, still under dominion of UK. Denial of vote to blacks
    - 1948- National Party (of Afrikaners) wins elections, formal beginning of apartheid
    - 1950- Population Registration Act. Blacks only allowed to vote in “Bantustans”. Distinguished between “colored”—light skinned black, people who either were or were suspected of being the product of a mixed marriage-- and “black”. Colored people were treated better. Group Areas Act- blacks forced to live in certain areas, and movement restricted
    - 1961- Republic of South Africa formed
    - 1963- Imprisonment of Nelson Mandela because was leader of African National Congress
    - 1977- UN arms embargo against South Africa (British and US were late to enact embargo due to diamond trade)
    - 1990- Release of Mandela. ANC became legalized
    - 1994- First free election
  + Life Under Apartheid:
    - Bantustans constituted only 13% of land, usually non-contiguous and infertile parcels of land
    - Prohibited mixed marriages
    - Separate residential areas, education institutions, medical care, etc
    - Bantu Education- black South Africans went to their own schools, where there education was inferior. Their education reinforced the idea that black South Africans were inferior
    - Forced relocations
    - Disenfranchisement of blacks. Illiberal democracy to an extreme
  + What led to the end of apartheid:
    - Falling white population (10%) and growing black social and economic mobilization (unified resistance)
    - Determined resistance from ANC, PAC, Black Consciousness Movement
    - Apartheid state was costly and inefficient leading to economic decline in the 1980’s
    - International embargos limited trade and investment. Winding down of Cold War—ideology that the US had to help the South African gov’t to prevent spread of communism died down
    - Leadership of de Klerk and Mandela
  + Why there wasn’t a race war at the end of apartheid
    - De Klerk’s 1992 whites-only referendum: 68% voted to continue negotiations
    - Mandela’s recognition of the necessity of reconciliation rather than revenge
    - Protection of white property rights-> no significant land redistribution or nationalization of mineral assets
    - Some violence before 1994 elections, but didn’t break out into a race war
  + Parliamentary System with a President
    - President is chosen by the National Assembly. President is head of state and the head of government
    - President is not easily removed. A vote of no confidence requires support of 2/3 members of National Assembly and substantial violation of law
    - However, there are limits to power. Mbeki forced to resign in 2008 within the ANC
    - National Assembly (lower house):
      * 400 members with 5 year terms
      * Responsible for electing/removing President, preparing/passing legislation approving national budget
    - Electoral System:
      * “pure” PR system with closed party lists
      * ONE single national constituency with no minimum threshold for receiving seats
      * Don’t vote individuals
      * Vote for two party votes: one on the national level, and one on their provincial level
      * All seats allocated exactly to proportion of the vote
        + This means that it is literally majority rules
        + There has never been a coalition government
    - 2009 elections:
      * Jacob Zuma, president of ANC, became president of South Africa in 2009
      * ANC 66% of vote-> 66% of seats
      * 77% turnout
    - Jacob Zuma
      * President of ANC (07) and of South Africa (09)
      * 2005: Charged with rape
      * Many allegations of corruption
      * Self-described socialist
      * Has talked about nationalizing mines, which makes the foreign investors very nervous
      * “You have more rights because you’re a majority; you have less rights because you’re a minority. That’s how democracy works”
      * Caught singing “Shoot the Boer” song
      * He has 4 wives, receives $2M a year out of the state budget just to support his wives and 20 children
    - Helen Zille
      * German Jewish heritage
      * Premier of the Western Cape—only province run by a non-ANC leader
      * Journalist and anti-apartheid activist. Uncovered truth about Steve Biko (he died under police brutality)
      * 2008 World Mayor award—Cape Town
      * Presents strong challenge to Zuma, who no longer wants to debate her
      * Well respected in South African society
      * Leader of Democratic Alliance
    - National Council of Provinces (upper house)
      * 90 members
      * Each of 9 provincial legislatures elects 10 delegates, including the premier
      * Set up to ensure that local interests are heard-> right to weigh in on polices which impact the provinces
      * However, 2/3 vote in national Assembly can override the National Council
    - Constitutional Court:
      * Hears cases regarding the constitutionality of legislation passed by National Assembly
      * 11 judges serve 12 years terms and are appointed by the president based on the recommendations of a judicial commission
      * Judicial commission is made up of government and nongovernment appointees
      * Whoever controls the lower house has control over presidency and judicial commission
      * Court has shown a tendency for activism
  + Economy
    - Fairly diversified economy, new black middle class, but not enough jobs for poor
    - South Africa is the world’s largest exporter of gold, platinum, and diamonds. Mining accounts for 6% of GDP, but 60% of exports
    - White run and own most miens
    - Marikana Massacre 9/16/12. Police shot and killed 36 miners (who were on strike); 2 police killed. Worst incident of police brutality since apartheid
      * Whose interests are the police protecting?
      * Lots of police brutality in South Africa, particularly in shanty towns
    - Who owns the platinum mines
      * Lonmin (UK)- platinum producer (where the Marakana Massacre occurred)
      * Anglo American/DeBeers (UK/US)- gold, platinum, coals ($30 billion in revenues ’11)
  + Social woes
    - 18% (5.6 million people-most in the world) adults have HIV/AIDS
    - 15-25 year olds have 48% (3rd in world) unemployment, 25% overall
    - 50% live below poverty line
      * ¼ live on less than $1.25 a day
    - Gini: 65 (2nd worst in the world, US is 45)
    - Huge brain drain in recent years
      * Between 1-1.6 million professionals have fled South Africa in Recent years
      * For every 1 emigrant, 10 unskilled people lose their jobs
    - fear of land redistribution
    - affirmative action policies favoring blacks
    - rising crime
      * prevalence of carjacking
      * 50 people murdered every day. 18,000 in 2009, and this is considered an improvement
      * “Rape Capital of the World”
        + 2009 survey by Medical Research Council found that ¼ of men had raped a woman, ½ admitted to raping more than 1 woman, and 1/10 had been raped by a man
        + Many accounts of infant and child rape. Myth that rape of a child will cure AIDS
    - declining quality of life
    - minorities don’t view government as legitimate because majority rules and they have no power and no say in the anything
    - 2012 Economist Democracy Index: flawed democracy
    - 2011 Corruption Perceptions Index: worse than US
    - 2011 UN Inequality Adjusted HDI: worse than US
* France
  + Semi-presidential Parliamentary System with SMD
  + Unitary State
  + Head of State: President Francois Hollande (2012) of the Socialist Party (has the lowest approval rating in all of French history)
  + Head of Government: Prime Minister Jean-Marc Ayrault (2012)
  + France is slightly smaller than Texas
  + Population of 65 million
  + 83-88% Catholic, 2% Protestant, 1% Jewish, 5-10% Muslim, 4% other
  + It is forbidden by law to collect data on ethnicity and religion- this is because of the French national mandate of nationalism (don’t want to highlight ethnic or religious divides that differentiates Frenchmen from each other)
  + Estimated that 1/10 people living in France are foreign born (1/12 in the US)
  + France has many overseas territories. There have been newly created positions in parliament for these overseas territories
  + GDPPPP: $2.246 trillion (2011). 10th largest in the world
  + 9.3% unemployment
  + 6.2% living below the poverty line
  + Gini coefficient: 32 (100th in the world, UK is 91st, US is 42nd)
  + Top 10% control 30% of income/consumption
  + France has relatively high taxes (closer to those of the welfare state)
  + French History:
    - Archetype of the rise of the modern nation-state: bureaucracy, taxation, rule of law
    - From 18th-20th centuries, France endured:
      * 3 monarchies, 5 republics, 2 empires, a Fascist regime, 2 provisional governments, and 15 separate constitutions
    - Only during the current 5th republic has France broken this cycle of authoritarian rule and chaotic democracy
    - France consequently has a strong centralized government (President is most powerful figure in France)
    - 1st republic (1792-1804):
      * Began with French revolution (1789)
      * End of the absolute monarchy
      * Separation of church and state
      * Technocratic rule (metric system, calendar, monetary system)-> spear to Europe
      * Institutionalization of the state
      * Reign of Terror and class war
      * Weak government led to rise of Napoleon and two empires
      * French Motto: Liberty, Freedom, Equality (asks for both collective and individual equality)
    - 5th republic (1958-present):
      * 3rd and 4th Republics paralyzed. No party or coalition was able to form a stable government
      * There were 20 government in 12 years during the 4th republic
      * De Gaulle agreed to come back into politics with a referendum on a new constitution-> much stronger executive
  + France Semi-Presidential System:
    - President has few formal powers
    - President has no term limits
    - President appoints the Prime Minister though he needs legislative approval
    - Presidents have removed PMs though the constitution does not specify this authority
    - President appoints Cabinet members (Council of Ministers). He usually picks ministers from the majority party in Parliament, but this is not required
    - The president is much more powerful than the prime minister
    - National Assembly (lower house):
      * 577 deputies
        + 570 from official departments, 7 overseas
      * 5 year terms
      * President can dissolve National Assembly to prevent stalemate (rarely used). Last disillusionment was in 1997
      * National Assembly can call for a “motion of censure” (same as vote of no confidence), but this requires an absolute majority (must be more than 50%; no deputies can abstain)
      * The Cabinet is very powerful because they have the blocked vote- limits the ability of the assembly to amend legislation. 80% of the bills originate from the cabinet
      * All legislation concerning spending originate from the Cabinet
    - Cohabitation:
      * The resident and the majority party in Parliament are from opposing parties (because the voting years don’t coincide)
      * This has happened three times
      * The result is often a stalemate
      * The result was, in 2000, the President’s term was reduced from 7 to 5 years to coincide with parliamentary elections
        + The intention is the prevent a stalemate in the national assembly
  + Electoral System:
    - Presidents elected through a run-off. If no candidate receives more than 50% of the vote in the 1st round of voting then they have another round of voting
    - 1st round is for presidential, the 2nd is for parliamentary
    - Single member constituencies with two rounds of voting. In 2nd round, candidates with less than 12.5% eliminated
      * Two main coalitions at the national level- Center Right (UMP) vs Center Left (PS)
      * Connection between voters and MPs
      * Smaller parties continue to play some role (if the top candidate from the left ends up running against someone from the right in the 2nd round, then the rest of the leftist parties rally around that candidate, even if he/she is from a minority party)
    - Official electoral campaigns are brief
    - All pair advertisements through the press or by any audiovisual means are prohibited during the 3 months preceding the election
    - Instead, political advertisements are aired free of charge on an equal basis for all of the candidates on national TV and radio stations during the official campaign
    - Campaign donations and expenditures are capped and audited
  + April 2012: Presidential Elections:
    - 10 candidates, including 3 women
    - 1st round0 no one won over 50% of the vote
    - Runoff election: Hllande vs Sarkozy
  + June 2012 Parliamentary Elections:
    - ½ of all candidates must be women by law
    - The coalition of the Left won a majority of seats (57%+)
  + At least half of all board members of French companies must be women
  + France President:
    - Fancois Hollande (since 2012)
    - 1st Socialist president since Francois Mitterrand (‘81-’95)
    - Hollande was trailing Dominique Straus-Kahn before his rape and other sex scandals
    - He is an enarque, grad of ENA (the main school that trains most of the civil servants, politicians, and executives of French companies)
    - He currently lives with his mistress
  + Extramarital affairs appear to be relatively normal in France
  + Prime Minister:
    - Jean-Marc Ayrault (since 2012)
    - Became the leader of the Socialist Party in parliament in 1997
    - He has been a member of the SP since 1971 long political career
    - Supported Hollande in his bid for the presidency
    - His leaderships is seen as weak
    - Wanted to instate a 75% tax on people with an income above 1 million euros
    - It is estimated that at least 1 member of every family works for the state
  + Senate (upper House):
    - 348 senators are indirectly elected for 6 years terms. 90% of the electors are delegates appointed by regional councilors
    - The senate favors rural areas, and, as a result, is conservative
    - The president of the Senate is the first in line for the presidency
  + Code Law: laws are derived by detailed legal codes rather than precedent (common law)
    - Judges interpret and apply codes, therefore have less discretion/autonomy than those in common law systems
  + Constitional council: set up to settle constitutional disputes
    - 9 judges for a since 9 year term by the president and heads of parliament
    - This makes the legal system very politicized
  + The Bureaucracy:
    - France has one of the world’s earliest and most efficient bureaucracies
    - The civil service retains a high profile
    - Ecole National d’Administraion: created by de Gaulle to democratize access to the civil service (but 29% working class-> 9%)
    - Higher education in France is free
    - Enarques: people who graduate and enter into bureaucracy, politics and industry
    - Young people have a lot of interest in working for the state
    - 7 of 12 of the past prime ministers have been Enarques
  + Economy:
    - Dirigisme: emphasis of the role of the state in economic development
      * Nationalization of several sectors (utilities), promotion of “national champions” (Airbus- compete with Boeing), national planning ministry, grande ecoles
    - Successes: rapid industrialization and urbanization in the postwar period
      * Costs: large public sector, expansive and expensive welfare state, heavy tax burden
      * 2007: government expenditures are 50% of GDP
  + Nuclear Power:
    - 1973 oil crisis, the prime minister unexpectedly announced a huge nuclear power plan
    - Nuclear plants are state-owned
    - Generally viewed as successful
    - Nuclear power is the primary source of electricity in France. Provides almost 80%
    - Lowest C02 per unit of GDP I the world
    - Biggest exporter of electricity
    - Public generally supports nuclear power
    - Largest export of nuclear power plants
    - Major downside is determining what to do with nuclear waste
  + Society:
    - Farmers in the countryside have a disproportionate amount of political power in France and in the EU (subsidies)
    - Conservative, religious, and rural South vs urban, secular and industrial North
    - A powerful state forged French national identity-> assumption that all immigrants would assimilate. Tensions remain (immigrants don’t have good economic situations, live on the outskirts of Paris, are marginalized)
    - Large state vs mass protests
  + Future Challenges:
    - Discussion of declineism
    - Reform of the EU CAP?
    - Dismantle or uphold French welfare state?
    - Ageing population with high welfare and pension costs (who will pay for it?)
    - Return of SP to power suggest that the French are not ready for major reforms
    - “Melting pot” vs “Salad Bowl”?
    - Relations with the US and future EU?
* Germany
  + Parliamentary System with mixed electoral system
  + Federal system (16 states)
  + Head of State: Joachim Gauck (2012)
  + Head of Government: Chancellor Angela Merkel (2005)
  + Land Size: slightly smaller than Montana
  + Population: 81 million
  + Religion: 34% Catholic 34% Protestant 4% Muslim and 28% unaffiliated or other
  + Ethnic Composition: 91% German, 3% Turkish, 6% other
  + GDPPPP: $3.139 trillion (6th largest economy in the world, largest in the EU)
  + Unemployment: 6%
  + 15.5% living below poverty line
  + GINI: 27
  + Top 10% control about 24% of the income/consumption
  + History:
    - For centuries, Germany was a loose confederation of principalities (1st Reich)
    - 1871: Otto von Bismark and Unification of Germany (2nd Reich)
    - Creation of modern nation-state
    - Bismark led a so-called “revolution from above” through an alliance between “iron and rye”- industrialists and landed elite
    - 1st constitution established an authoritarian monarchy (Kaiser) and weak Reichstag
    - Bismark waged war with France to foster a sense of German national identity-> causing the remaining Southern state to join the union in 1871
    - Bismark cultivated secret alliances with Austro-Hungarian empire and Russian empire
    - Bismark: “Laws are like sausages, it’s better not to see them being made”
    - 1918: Creation of Weimar Republic
      * Universal suffrage
      * Universal healthcare and pensions
      * Parliamentary system modeled on British system with PR but with a president
      * Between 1919-1933, 20+ governments
    - 1932: Hitler and Nazi Party (3rd Reich)
      * Hitler used the state to restore stability and Germany’s pride and power
    - 1949: Creation of the Bonn Republic
      * Basic Law (“provisional” constitution)
      * Devolution of authority from the central state to deferral regions; strengthening of democratic institutions
    - 1990: Reunification of Germany
      * Followed the fall of the Berlin Wall
      * Still tensions between East and West because the East was sooooo poor, and there is still a major economic transfer happening (people in West Germany resent having to “revive” East Germany)
    - Differences with Weimar Republic:
      * Federalism (Hitler had destroyed the power of German states)
      * An elaborate set of basic political, social, and economic rights
      * Weak, indirectly elected head of state
      * Political power concentrated in the chancellor; responsible to the legislature
      * Independent judiciary
      * Very stable politically since 1949
  + Helmut Kohl:
    - Chancellor (1982-1998)
    - Longest serving since Bismark
    - Led Germany reunification
    - Worked closely with Mitterrand to establish the European Union and the euro
    - Bush senior and Clinton hailed him as greatest European leader of the second half of the 20th century
  + Political Parties:
    - Central Right Coalition:
      * Christian Democratic Union (CDU) plus Christian Social Union (CSU)
      * Helmut Kohl and Angela Merkel
      * Pro-business and pro-EU
    - Center Left Coalition:
      * Social Democratic Party (SPD) plus Greens
      * Gerhard Schroder is head of SPD
      * Traditionally party of the working class
  + Angela Merkel:
    - Chancellor (CDU) since ‘05
    - 1st female chancellor (PhD)
    - Leader of the CDU
    - Moved to center on social issues like immigration and the environment
    - Adoption of free-market policies, tax cuts, reform of health care system
    - Continues to support EU
  + Economy:
    - Fastest growth rate and largest economy in Europe
    - Role of neo-corporatism and codetermination
    - Very strong manufacturing sector. World’s third largest exporter (highest per capita)
      * China $1400/person; US $4800/person; Germany $17000/person
      * State supports R&D, vocational training (schools that specialize in 1 of 344 trades, courses set my unions, funded by local governments), strength of Mittelstand (small businesses and manufacturing companies)
  + Society:
    - Trade unions strong and influential. More than ½ of workers are covered by agreements between unions and employers
      * Reason for strong welfare state
      * Continued support for collective well-being over individual rights
    - Citizenship was traditionally built on German ethnicity. In 2000, reform of naturalization. However, social integration is still challenging
    - Increasing focus on post-materialist values (women’s rights, the environment, social equality)
  + Future Challenges:
    - Reform of welfare state and labor markets to remain competitive
    - Continuing integration and development of Eastern Europe
    - Future role in the EU (bail out Greece and others?)
    - Integration of increasing Muslim (Turkish) population to prevent radicalization
    - Gender gap. Women ear ¼ wages of men
  + Corruption in Germany is famously lower (even lower than the UK)
  + UN Inequality-Adjusted HDI: 5
  + Economist Democracy Index: 14
* Iran
  + Semi-presidential theocracy
  + Unicameral parliament
  + Head of state: Ayatollah Khamenei (1989)
  + Head of Government: President Mahmud Ahmadinejad (2005)
  + Slightly larger than Alaska
  + 77 million people. 50% of the population is under the age of 30
  + 98% Islam (Shia 89% Sunny 9%), 2% other
  + Ethnic composition: Persian 61%, Azeri 16%, Kurd 10%, Lur 6%, Baloch 2%, Arab 2%, Turkmen and Turkic tribes 2%, other 1%
  + Iran is NOT an Arab country
  + GDPPPP: $1 trillion (2011)
  + 95th largest economy in the world
  + 15% unemployment rate (23% for those between the ages of 15-24)
  + 18.7% living below the poverty line
  + GINI: 44.5 (45th in the world)
  + Top 10% control 29.6% of income/consumption
  + History of Shiism:
    - Safavid Dynasty (1502-1736) adopted Shiism and created a tight connection between the state and religion
    - Differences between Shiism and Sunni Islam:
      * Emphasis on a different descendants of the Prophet Muhammad
      * Shias believe in a messiah, Hidden Imam
      * Shiism is more centralized than Sunni Islam-> ayatollahs, the clergy or religious leaders, play important political/social role
    - 1906: Constitutional Revolution which sought to limit the powers of the Qajar monarchy. Creation of the 1st constitution and the Majlis
    - WWI: Persia was fought over by Russians, British, Germans, and Ottomans
    - 1925: Reza Pahlavi became the 1st shah of the Pahlavi Dynasty. Reza Shah centralized and modernized the state, but at the expense of democratization
    - 1935: Persia formally renamed itself Iran
    - WWII: UK and USA invaded Iran to prevent Iran (and its oil) from siding with Axis. Reza Shah OUT; his son Mohammad Reza IN
    - Many within Iran- Majlis, ulema, PM Mossadeq—supported removal of Western influence and nationalization of oil industry
    - 1953: Operation Ajax. US and UK partnered to overthrow Mossadeq and reinstate Mohammad Reza
      * 1st time USA openly overthrew a democratically elected government
    - 1960s and 1970s: The shah consolidated his rule and angered religious leaders
    - He expelled Ayatollah Khomeini, who went to Iraq and articulated a vision of an Iran governed by Islam. Gained popularity in exile, partially because there was a lot of unrest in Iran and the shah was seen as a plunderer of nation’s oil and puppet of the west
    - 1979: Iranian revolution, rise of Ayatollah Khomeini, the US Hostage Crisis, and the Iran-Iraq war (which drastically weakened both countries)
    - 1989: Ayatollah Khomeini died, which created an opening for reform
    - 1997: pro-reformer Mohammad Khatami won the presidential election with 70% of the vote
      * Witnessed a flourishing of civil society and political opening
    - 2001: re-election of Khatami with 70% of vote. However, conservatives clamped down and put an end to reforms
    - 2005: Ahmadinejad is elected
  + Constitution:
    - Khomeini’s Iranian constitution of 1979 is still in place
    - The Islamic Republic exists to guide the people towards God (not to serve the people)
    - “All civil, penal, financial, economic, administrative, cultural, military, political and other laws and regulations must be based on Islamic criteria”
    - The rule of law is heresy. God’s law (Sharia) should reign supreme
    - Political system picture in slides
  + Supreme Leader:
    - Ayatollah Khamenei since 1989
      * He serves for life
      * He is appointed by the Assembly of Experts
      * He directs both political and spiritual life
      * He decides who gets to run for president
      * He is the commander in chief of armed forces
      * He appoints the chief justice, as well as directors of radio and TV broadcasting
      * He is essentially like a traditional monarch
  + Executive Branch:
    - Guardian Council: 12 members who serve for 6 year terms. 6 appointed by chief justice and approved by the Majlis. 6 appointed by Supreme Leader. Ensures legislation is compatible with Islam and the Constitution
    - Expediency Council: 39 members who serve for 5 year terms. All appointed by the Supreme Leader. Mediates legislative disputes between Majlis and Guardian Council. Advisors to Supreme Leader
    - Assembly of Experts: 86 members who are popularly elected for 8 year terms. Candidates are vetted (by religious clerics) in advance of elections
    - President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad since 2005:
      * He is directly elected by the people
      * He is limited to two 4 year terms, which means that he can only serve until 2013
      * He is in charge of the budget, initiating legislation, selecting cabinet members, and foreign policy
      * Ahmadinejad is the first president that is not a cleric, though he is a traditionalist
      * He has recently lost support of the Ayatollah. He is not the first to be marginalized by the Supreme Leader
      * There is a question as to whether or not his 2005 election was legitimate
    - Majlis:
      * 290 members serve 4 year terms
      * responsibilities are: initiating and passing legislation, overseeing the budget, and approving the members of the president’s power
  + Electoral system:
    - All political parties are banned in Iran
    - Elections for assembly of experts, the Majlis, and local governments are based on SMD majority system
    - The guardian council has the power to reject any candidate for each elected office
      * In 2005, only 8 in 1000 were allowed to run
      * In 2007 the council barred 1700 candidates from running for office
    - Formation of political parties is banned
  + Judicial System:
    - Legal system is derived from religious law, or sharia
    - Chief justice: is appointed by the Supreme Leader for a 5 year term. His role is to manage the judicial institutions and oversee the appointment and removal of judges
    - Chief Justice is ABOVE supreme courts
    - For now, it appears the Supreme Leader is not beholden to the Constitution or any other law
  + Reform Movement (aka: Green Movement):
    - Leaders: Mohammad Khatami (outspoken against Ahmadinejad government) and Mir-Hossein Mousavi (reformist politician who was PM while the position still existed, and ran against Ahmadinejad in 2009. He led the protest after the election. He and his wife are under house arrest)
  + Economy:
    - As a late industrializer, the state has played a strong role in the economy. State ownership seen as a way to limit “Westoxication”- which limits imports and foreign investments, thereby losing all competitive power in the market
    - Most revenues have come from oil. This limits broader economic development, and especially women
    - The private sector accounts for less than 20% of the economy. Mostly small scale businesses
    - Bonyads control most of the non-oil sectors. They are like trusts, and are extremely corrupt and inefficient
    - The economy has been very stagnant
    - And there is rampant corruption throughout
  + Society:
    - Growing unrest over rising youth unemployment. Iran needs to creat 1 million jobs per hear just to maintain current unemployment levels
    - Millions of heroin and opium addicts and growing. According to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, “Iran is suffering from the second most sever addiction to heroin and opium in the world”
    - The government is trying to figure out how to combat it. The Iranian government gives out methadone to addicts in order to combat heroin
  + Future Challenges:
    - Is economic stagnation and rising unemployment a ticking time bomb?
    - Can conservatives control Iran’s embrace of the internet and social media?
    - Will Iran be willing to negotiate over its nuclear program? Will Israel bomb Iran?
    - What will happen in 2013 presidential elections?
    - Who will succeed the current supreme leader?
    - Who will oppose a reformist government?
* Brazil
  + Presidential System
  + Bicameral Legislature (PR for lower house)
  + Federal system (26 states and Brasilia)
  + Head of state and head of government
  + Population: over 204 million (5th largest)
  + 87% urban. Very dense cities. Sao Paolo has 20 million people
  + Slightly larger than mainland USA
  + 54% white, 38% mixed race, 6% black, and 2% other
  + Brazil has the largest population of Japanese people outside Japan
  + GDPPP: $2.324 trillion. 8th largest economy
  + 6% unemployment (officially). This is very low because half of the country works in the informal sector
  + 21% living below the poverty line
  + GINI: 51.9 (16th most unequal country in the world)
  + Top 10% control 43% of the wealth
  + VERY high levels of inequality and poverty
  + History:
    - 1500: Portuguese explorer Pedro Alvarez Cabaral arrived in Brazil. Not many recourses to extract or natives to conquer-> few permanent colonies
    - Country got its name from a red dye extracted from a tree; the color was called Brazil
    - 16 and 17th centuries: Portuguese built sugar plantations but had to import labor, about 3-4 million slaves from Africa
    - The slave-based sugar economy in the NE generated massive wealth for the white minority-> the (mostly white) elite continue to control the vast majority of wealth
    - 17th and 18th century: discovery of gold and diamonds brought more settlers to SE
    - Capitol shifted from Salvador to Rio de Janeiro
    - Although the colonists disliked the high taxes imposed by the Portuguese crown, they feared the Afro-Brazilian majority and opted not to fight for independence (saw what happened in Haiti)
    - 1807: Napoleon drives Portuguese King Joao VI goes to Brazil-> turning Rio into a modern cosmopolitan city
    - 1821: King returns to Portugal but leaves behind his son, Pedro I and instructs him to support independence
    - 1822: Brazil becomes an independent country with little bloodshed. Close alliance with GB. Under the Empire, Brazil developed a strong central state dominated by a monarch
    - 1888: Brazil finally abolishes slavery
    - 1889: Military stages a coup d’état. Pedro II flees into exile rather than start a war
    - Relatively speaking, Brazil had a reasonably moderate and progressive monarchy
    - 1889-1930: 1st republic. Constitution modeled on US constitution, separation of powers…BUT coting restricted to literate males. Rise of powerful regional oligarchs
    - 1930s: Getuilo Vargas becomes a dictator and creates the Estado Novo-> initiates a state-let development strategy
    - 1945-1964: Returns to democracy but political crisis between presidents and the legislature
    - 1964-1985: another military coup. Erosion of democracy but successful state-led industrialization (GDP grew 10% per annum)
    - 1980s: gradual unraveling of military rule and hyper-inflation
    - 1988: New constitution and New Republic
    - 1987: a constitution assembly was elected to write a new constitution
      * similar to the constitution of the 2nd Republic- federal system, the separation of powers and certain individual rights
      * strict limits on the ability of the government to declare a state of siege or take wartime measures (because of military coups)
    - 1993: Brazilian voters rejected parliamentarism in favor of presidentialism
  + Presidency:
    - Term limit is 2 four years terms
    - Has the ability to initiate legislation. About 80% of legislation originates in the president’s office. The president is the only one who can initiate budgetary legislation
    - Has veto power, but can be overridden with a simple majority in the legislature
    - Has the ability to issue decrees and often does so because of a politically fragmented legislature
    - Has the ability to appoint key cabinet and bureaucratic posts. Enormous patronage power.
    - **President: Luiz Inacio “Lula” de Silva (2002-2010)**
      * **1st working class president**
      * **He ran for president 3 times and lost, but then moderated his image and won in 2002**
      * **Probably the most popular Brazilian politician ever**
      * **Only has a 5th grade education**
      * **From the slums**
      * **Obama (2009): “Love this guy. He’s the most popular politician on Earth. It’s because of his good looks”**
      * **Partially popular for welfare policies**
      * **Made many economic reforms**
      * **Built infrastructure**
      * **Modernized country’s energy production**
      * **Decided to move the capitol to Brasilia for militaristic strategic reasons**
    - Current President:
      * President Dilma Rousseff (2010 to present)
      * 2st woman to be president
      * Socialist in her youth, jailed and reportedly tortured
      * Protégé of Lula and his hand-picked successor. She was his Minister of Energy and Chief of Staff
      * She is seen as a firm leader focused on domestic policy. She enjoys a 59% approval
    - Chamber of Deputies (lower house):
      * 513 seats
      * Election every 4 years
      * No term limits
      * Each state has a minimum of 8 seats and a maximum of 70 seats-> end up favoring smaller and more conservative states
    - Federal Senate (upper house):
      * 81 seats (3 from each state)
      * 8 year terms, with one-third of seats coming up for election every 4 years
      * No term limits
      * The top three vote winners in each state automatically get the three states
  + Electoral System:
    - Voting is mandatory for all literate citizens between 18-70. Otherwise it’s voluntary
    - The legal voting age is 16
    - Presidents, governors, and mayors have to win a majority of votes or face a run off
    - Open-list PR for Chamber of Deputies:
      * Voters select a party or write in a candidate #. The vote for the candidate will also be tallied according to that candidate’s party (when calculating for the PR system)
      * % of seats allocated by PR, then party’s seats are allocated according to candidate’s votes. Candidates will only get the seat if they themselves are very popular. This means that there is very low party discipline during elections
      * Candidates will switch parties according to where the popularity is (very little party allegiance)
      * Candidate’s allegiance is more often to their states, causing pork-barrel politics
  + National Congress:
    - The actual power of the Brazilian National Congress has been weak because:
      * Dominance of the president
      * Weak political parties
      * Individualism of legislators
      * Many legislators see their positions as stepping stones to more lucrative occupations
      * Too many political parties make it difficult for president to find majority support for policies (because there are so many parties)
    - Effects of Open List PR:
      * Brazil’s electoral system leads candidates to run bizarre campaigns to get noticed
      * Ballots are often filled with superhero names
  + Judicial System:
    - Federal Supreme Court (constitutional):
      * 11 justices are appointed by the President but must be approved by a majority in Senate
      * 30 year term limit
    - Superior Court of Justice (non-constitution):
      * 30 justices are appointed by the president but must be approved by a majority in senate
      * 30 year term limit
      * Supreme Electoral Court:
        + To prevent electoral fraud
  + Society:
    - Despite the plethora of terms to describe the ethnic mixing in Brazil, there is an extremely strong association between skin color and wealth
    - Few blacks in high levels of business/government
    - Blacks and mixed race Brazilians are twice as likely to be unemployed and whites earn on average 57% more than Brazilians of color
    - Most of Brazil’s poor live in favelas (slums)
    - A large number of Koreans and Japanese live in Brazil
    - Overall, there is very low confidence in democracy
  + Social Mobility:
    - 30% of inequality by factors over which people have no control: race, gender, birthplace, parents’ education and occupation.
  + Economy:
    - Long history of state-led import-substitution industrialization. 1967-1973 was the decade of so-called economic miracle
    - A large informal sector (about 50% work in the informal sector)
    - Brazil has emerged as a dominant world exporter of agricultural goods (soybeans, bran and mineral resources) and manufactured goods (steel, autos, petrochemicals, and Embraer planes [3rd largest place manufacturer in the world])
    - One of the so called BRIC countries
    - 2nd largest industrial sector in Americas (after US)
  + Future Challenges:
    - Culture of violence. Murder rate is twice that of the USA. 40K die each year from gun violence. Police as well as gangs
    - Weak political parties and low levels of public confidence in democratic intuitions. But where will reform come from?
    - Persistent poverty, breathtaking inequality and rampant corruption
    - Will Brazil be ready for the World Cup (2014) and the Olympics (2016)
* Russia
  + Semi-presidential system (bicameral/federal)
  + Head of State: President Vladimir Putin
  + Head of government: Prime minister Dmitri Medvedev
  + 4 times the size of the US, 11 time zones
  + Largest country in the world
  + Population: 142 million , however population growth rate is negative (Russia is shrinking)
  + Religion: 15-20% Russian Orthodox, 10-15% Muslim, other Christian 2%
  + GDPPPP: $2.38 trillion, 7th largest economy
  + 6.6% unemployment
  + 13% living below the poverty line
  + GINI: 52nd
  + Top 10% control about 31% of the income/consumption
  + History:
    - Early Russian history marked by foreign invasion- Vikings and Mongols
      * Mongol occupation separated Russia from the Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation, and industrialization
      * Tendency toward isolation and despotism
    - 16th century: Ivan the Terrible unified Russia and became the first czar, moved the center from Kiev to Moscow
    - 1689-1752: Peter the Great expanded the Russian empire and turned it into one of the Europe’s great powers. He modernized the empire (focus on science and rationalism) and brought Russia closer to Europe. He moved the capitol the St. Petersburg
    - 1729-1762: Catherine the Great reformed the administration of the Russian empire. She established Hermitage Museum. Her rule is often referred to as the Golden Age of the Russian Empire
    - 19th-early 20th century: late industrialization created a new working class that is unhappy with the monarchy
    - 1905: Nicholas II instituted limited reforms including the creation of the democratically elected Duma (though not very powerful)
    - World War I: further weakened monarchy which is replaced with a republican government.
    - 1917: Bolshevik revolution (led by Vladimir Lenin, which led the creation of the USSR and world’s first communist state
    - 1928: Joseph Stalin centralizes the state and constructs a totalitarian regime which reached across politics, economics and society
    - WWII: Stalin sign pact with Hitler, but then Hitler invades USSR. Stalin reluctantly joins alliance with the Allied powers
    - 1949: USSR’s 1st nuclear test
    - 1953: Stalin dies
    - 1960s-1970s: Soviet economy stagnates
    - 1985: Mikhail Gorbachev comes to power. He believed that the state could be revitalizes through glasnost and perestroika
    - 1991: failed coup. USSR dissolved into 15 countries, including the Russian Federation
    - 2000/2004/2012: Vladimir Putin elected as president
  + Presidency:
    - Limitation of two consecutive terms
    - In 2008, term changed from 4 to 6 years
    - President appoints cabinet and PM (individuals do not have to be from parliament)
    - From 2004-2012, president appointed governors, but that changed this year (barely)
    - Can propose and veto bills, as well as issue decrees (which surpass the Duma). Most bills originate from president or his PM
    - President controls Foreign ministry, Defense, Interior, armed forces, and FSB (modern KGB)
    - President is extremely difficult to impeach
    - President Vladimir Putin:
      * Serving his 3rd term
      * Began in the KGB, then Yeltsin’s successor
      * Brought political stability and economic growth, but at the expense of democracy
      * Still ruled as PM (08-12)
      * Enjoys a 7% approval rating
      * 11/14/12: new “state secret” law to silence opposition
    - Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev:
      * Appointed by the president
      * Controls other ministries
      * PM and cabinet members need not reflect the power of parties in Duma
      * Putin’s PMs have been chosen for loyalty to the president rather than party representation in Duma
  + Duma (lower house):
    - 450 seats
    - In 2008, term changed from 4 to 5 years
    - Can initiate accept or reject legislation
    - Even if a vote of no confidence passes, the president can ignore the decision
    - If the duma rejects the president’s PM three times, the Duma must be dissolved
    - The duma currently has little real power
    - Very weak party system in Russia
  + Electoral System:
    - Presidents are elected by majority or run-offs, though many candidates have been barred from running (2008). Putin purportedly rigged his own re-election in 2012
    - Duma electoral rules changed several times
      * 1990: Plurality SMD (person with the most votes wins, but doesn’t need a majority)
      * 1993/1999/2003: Mixed system (like Germany)
      * 2007/2011: closed list PR and limited to registered parties. Reduction in # of parties. Contested results (accusations that elections are rigged)
  + Federation Council (upper house):
    - 178 seats. Term limits determined by regional governments
    - 2 reps from each of 89 federal districts
    - 1 rep is appointed by the governor and 1 rep is appointed by the regional legislature
    - Must approve bills on taxation or the budget
    - Most approve appointments to the Constitutional Court and Supreme Court, as well as a few
  + Judicial system:
    - Constitutional Court has 19 members who are appointed by the president and approved by the Federation Council
    - Putin moved the Constitutional Court to St. Petersburg in order to marginalize them
    - There is a separate Supreme Court. Judges are nominated by president and approved by Federation council
    - No rule of law in Russia. Courts often seen as tools of personal vendettas
  + Withering Federalism:
    - Asymteric Federalism: power is devolved unequally across the country. Specific laws are often negotiated between region and the central government
    - 21 republics, 50 provinces, 6 territories, 10 districts, and 2 federal cities
    - 2004: suspended gubernatorial elections
    - 2012: due to widespread protest, Putin allows gubernatorial elections in 5 federal entities, though candidates were filtered
  + Economy:
    - 1990: rapid “privatization” of state assets led to the rise of the oligarchy
    - Putin stripped the oligarchs of their wealth and nationalized their businesses, putting ex-KGB cronies control. “KGB Inc”
    - Russian enjoyed a decade of impressive growth, but mostly due to a rise in oil/gas prices. 90% of exports are oil/gas/metal. Recourse economy/curse
    - Large conventional arms exporter (USA is the largest)
  + Civil society:
    - 2006: Law requiring NGOs to be registered. NGOs’ foreign funding limited. NGOs subjected to inspections and approval for any activity
    - Under Putin, nationalization of radio and TV stations. Only a few independent outlets
    - 1996-2006: 88 journalists killed (second only to Iraq)
    - Problems with the Caucasus (Chechnya)
    - Reach of Russian mafia?
    - Does public favor democracy (over 50% of the population does not think that democracy is the right thing for Russia)? Faith in state to restore Russia’s world power status?
  + Opposition:
    - Yabloko political party lost all seats in Duma (2012)
    - Garry Kasparov, former chess champion and activist
    - The Other Russia movement
    - “Putin Must Go” online petition (Russians have difficulty organizing physically, so internet next best thing)
    - Overall, weak civil society
  + Future Challenges:
    - Will Russia become increasingly autocratic and eliminate all vestige of democracy? And what happens post-Putin?
    - Rampant corruption and lower levels of growth. Too reliant on natural resources?
    - How to combat negative population growth?
    - What to do with increasing domestic dissent?
    - Strained relations with the West?
  + FOCUS ON COMPARRING AND CONTRASTING THEIR SEMI-PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM WITH FRANCE’S
* China:
  + Authoritarian Regime
  + Unicameral Parliament
  + Head of State: President Xi Jinping (2012). General Secretary of the Party
  + Head of Government: Premier Li Keqiang (2012)
  + Both the president and premier are not elected
  + China is slightly smaller than the US
  + Population 1.33+ billion
  + Religion: Taoism, Buddhism, Islam, but Christianity is growing. Christianity is growing faster than in any country in the world
  + Ethnic Composition: 92% Han Chinese, 8% minorities (55 minority groups)
  + GDPPP: $11.3 trillion, 2nd largest economy in the world
    - Predicted to surpass the US within the next 10 years
  + 6.5% unemployment
  + 13.4% living below the poverty line
  + NOTE: Chinese official statistics are not reliable
  + GINI: 48 (27th in the world, worse than US or Iran)
  + No good data for % of income controlled by top 10%
  + History:
    - 18th Century BC: Shang Dynasty. The first form of political organization recorded. 2,000 years before European states
    - 221 BC: Qin Dynasty. Chinese empire was united under Emperor Qin Shihuang
      * Political centralization
      * Unified currency writing system, weights and measures
      * Creation of public works (Great Wall)
      * Terracotta Soldiers
        + 8000 life size and unique soldiers
        + 130 charriots
        + 520 horses
        + 150 cavalry horses
        + Qin’s tomb still intact
    - 206-220 BC: Han Dynasty. Confucianism and Chinses civil service. The institutionalization of the bureaucracy became the glue that held China together
    - 10th-13th century CE: Song Dynasty. Peak of Chinese civilization: economy culture, science ad technology. First paper money and invention of gunpowder
    - 14th-17th century CE: Ming Dynasty. China began to decline relative to the West
      * Why did China Fall Behind?:
        + Cultural explanation: rigid Confucian ideology was inflexible and outdated. Favored continuity rather than change. Disdain for commerce
        + Economic explanation: rise of bureaucracy led to corruption. Most talented individuals worked for the state, and they then used those positions to enrich themselves
        + Geographic explanation: limited competition and lack of rival powers led to stagnation. Tributary system (all of the surrounding countries had to bring tribute to the Chinese emperor). China thought of itself as the center of the world
    - 19th century: Great Britain enters China and fights two Opium Wars. China can no longer ignore the West. 1st Sino-Japanese War. So begins China’s history of humiliation
    - 1911: The Qing Dynasty falls. The Republic of China is formed under Sun Yat-sen. Republic fell and the warlord period ensued
      * Formation of the National (KMT) and the Communist Parties (CCP), which would fight one another until the end of WWII
    - 1937-1945: Japan invades China. WWII. Japan commits horrible atrocities in China. The Rape of Nanking continues to be a sore spot in Sino-Japanese relations
    - 1945-1949: Chinese Civil War (KMT vs CCP)
    - 1949: CCP under Mao Zedong wins and established the People’s Republic of China. KMT under Chian Kai-shek flee to Taiwan. The US parks the 7th fleet between China and Taiwan, and the US only recognized Taiwan. The US did not recognize the PRC until 1979. The communists maintain control of the mainland
    - 1950s-1970s: Rapid industrialization and political/social turmoil
    - 1958:Great Leap Forward and the Great Famine (15-40 million deaths)
    - 1966: Cultural Revolution. Mao’s attempt to restore his control over the country. Uses students has his army to attempt to take back the country (shuts down universities and turns students into his army)
    - 1976: Mao dies
    - 1978: Deng Xiaoping comes to power and launches economic reforms. No leader in China has been as powerful as Deng Xiaoping was
  + Key Reforms:
    - Experimental reforms that slowly reduced the state’s role in the economy
    - Household responsibility system (people didn’t own the land but had the right to farm it. They were permitted to sell some and had to give some to government, which motivated workers to be more efficient)
    - Township and village enterprises (local authorities begin to get involved in creating private enterprise)
    - Special economic zones
    - Corporatization of state-owned enterprises
    - Foreign direct investment and trade reform
    - 30 years of 10% GDP growth. Hundreds of millions of people lifted out of poverty
  + The Party-State:
    - The CCP exercises control over the state
    - All government agencies are matched or duplicated at every level of organization by a corresponding party organ
    - This is to ensure that the interests of the party prevail. In many instances, the same person occupies key party and government positions
      * Xi Jingping is both General Secretary of the CCP and the President
  + Constitution:
    - There have been 4 constitutions since 1949. Even the current constitution has been amended many times
    - The 1982 constitution de-emphasizes class struggle and prioritizes development, as well as the interests of non-party groups
    - The constitution provides the basic structure of the government, but does not institutionalize political power
    - No constitutional court and no rule of law. Laws are selectively applied
    - Power of executive, legislative and judicial institutions subject to CCP leadership
    - Chinese leaders rely on informal bases of power rather than Constitutional rules
    - Retirement ages and term limits are not in the constitution, but enacted through party rules
  + CCP Organization:
    - 73 million members. 2-3 million new members per year
    - Promotion within the party is completely opaque to those outside of the top leadership
    - They want to encourage people to be members of the party in order to legitimize the party
    - Decisions occur behind closed doors are based merit, hereditary links, and guanxi (relationships- who you know)
    - Importantly, no single individual has the kind of power once wielded by Mao
    - The General Secretary/President must build consensus within the Politburo (the party’s top leadership), unlike Mao who used to be able to everything and anything he wanted
    - REFER TO SLIDES FOR ILLUSTRATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM
      * The Politburo Standing Committee exists within the party, is where most decisions are made, and is essentially where all the power lies. The Premier and President are both members of this committee. The cabinet essentially merely implements any directions is receives from the Politburo Standing Committee
    - The CCP’s Politburo Standing Committee:
      * Top leadership of the party and the state
      * Membership varies from 7-9 people
      * Changes roughly every 5 years
      * “Mandatory” retirement between 65-68
      * Technically “elected” by the Politburo, though selection is often based on family connections and loyalty to key leaders
      * Includes General Secretary/President and Premier
      * Many of the current people placed on the committee are the protégés of Jiang Zeming, displaying the power he is still able to exercise despite not having been president for 12 years
  + Political Reform?:
    - The composition of the 18th PSC suggests that political reform is unlikely to come
    - Because the families or clans of the CCP elite have too many vested interests in the current political-economic structure
    - Democracy unlikely to come from the top
    - Can the CCP elite (“red capitalists”) continue to co-opt the middle class through economic growth?
  + State Council:
    - SLIDES
  + National People’s Congress:
    - SLIDES
  + Civil Society:
    - SLIDES
* India:
  + World’s largest democracy
  + Bicameral parliament
  + Federal system
  + Head of State: President Pranab Mukherjee (2012) (role is largely ceremonial)
  + Head of government: PM Manmohan Singh (2004)
  + Slightly more than 1/3 the size of the US
  + 1.2 billion (2012) people. Likely to overtake China is 2035. It is the densest country
  + Religion: 81% Hindu, 14% Muslim, 2% Christian, 2% Sikh, 1% other
  + Language: 325 distinct languages with over 1500 dialects. 41% Hindi. English is only spoken by elite
  + GDPPPP: $4.4 trillion, 5th largest economy in the world
  + 9.8% unemployment
  + 30% live below the poverty line on less than $1.25 a day. 68% live on less than $2 a day
  + Female literacy is 48% (men 73%)
  + GINI: 36.8 (77th in the world)
  + Top 10% control about 31.1% of the wealth
  + REFER TO SLIDES FOR HISTORY
    - 1885: Indian National Congress was founded (known as the INC or Congress Party today). Gandhi led the INC’s nonviolent independence movement
    - 1947: Independence and the Partition. The colony was separated between Pakistan (and Bangladesh) and India. 12 million refugees and more than 1 million deaths as people were trying to cross boarders to their respective “religious country”
    - 1951: First general elections. INC wins handsomely and Jawaharlal Nehru becomes India’s first PM
      * Why did India become a democracy and Pakistan did not?:
        + Indian elite educated in the British liberal tradition and served in colonial bureaucracy
        + Centralization state apparatus: extensive civil service and standing army
        + Institutionalization and broad-based INC
        + India has been a relatively stable demoacracy, but yet has been governed for most years by one party and one family

Nehru (1947-1962(

Indira Ganghi (1966-1977; 1980-1984)- Nehru’s daughter, assassinated because she was an oppressive leader

Rajiv Gandhi (1984-1991)- Indira’s son, started India’s economic reforms, assassinated

Sonia Gandhi (head of INC since 1998 but never prime minister because she was born in Italy despite being ethnically Indian. Longest serving president of INC)- wife of Rajiv

Two of her children are now entering into politics, and they may rise to power and carry on the family line (4th generation of the Nehru-Gandhi line)

* + - Bangladesh eventually became in independent country in 1971
  + Constitution:
    - 1950 Constitution is world’s longest
    - Although a federal republic, the Constitution enhances the Center by:
      * Emergency rule (martial law): invoked 4 times, 3 times under Indira Gandhi. Suspends the constitution
      * Presidential rule (ousting a state government and direct rule by Center): used 100 times
        + This allows them to control and prevent potential secession
  + President:
    - 5 year term
    - Elected by an electoral college of national and state legislators, though many have been in effect appointed by powerful PMs
    - Because India is a republic, the head of state is the president (not a monarch)
    - The role is largely symbolic. Appoints the PM and calls on him or her to form a government. If no coalition can be formed, the president can dissolve parliament and call elections
  + Prime Minister:
    - Modeled on Westminster system
    - PM and Council of Ministers (cabinet) constitute the executive branch
    - PM chooses members of the parliament to serve in the council (30+ ministers)
    - PM is typically leader of the majority power in Lok Sabha (lower house) but the current PM Manmohan Singh (first Sikh PM) is from the Rajya Sabha (upper house)
  + Lok Sabha (lower house):
    - 543/545 member elected every 5 years unless there is a vote of no confidence. 2 members are appointed by the president
    - Each seat represents 2 million people
    - Lok Sabha increasingly important due to need to form coalitions to form government because the family and prime minister position have become less powerful
    - 417 million voted in 2009 (58%), the largest democratic election in the world to date
    - Sophisticated electronic voting machines
    - Because they are SMD, a party can have a lot of seats but a relatively smaller percentage of the vote because they only need a plurality of votes in order to win the seat
  + Rajya Sabha (upper house)
    - 238/250 members elected for fixed 6 year terms by state legislatures, not the public. 12 appointed by the president
    - Seats are allotted roughly by population
    - Weaker than Lok Sabha (LS):
      * Only LS can introduce bills to raise revenues
      * Deadlocked legislation put to vote in a joint session (LS+RS). Because the lower house has so many more members, it will result in the Lok Sabha getting to decide the legislation
      * PM and cabinet only responsible to LS
  + Electoral System:
    - Lok Sabha is divided into 543 SMDs with plurality. Some districts reserved for certain castes, including so-called “untouchables”
    - SMDs produce 2 main parties in US and UK, but not in India because it’s so diverse and there’s such a difference between the regional ethnic interests in the urban and rural centers
    - There are two main parties, INC and BJP, but there are also numerous regional parties based on caste, linguistic identity, religious identity-> requires coalitions to form government. This allows for everyone’s interests to be heard, however it could cause smaller parties to be over represented and it makes governing much more difficult
  + The Party System:
    - INC dominance waning but still relevant
    - Bharatyia Janata Party (BJP) is the party of Hindu Nationalism- Hindutva
      * Gained popularity in 1990s. governed from 1996-2004 through coalitions
    - Militant elements within BJP are stridently anti-Muslim. Nationally, the BJP’s popularity has somewhat waned because the BJP was not broad enough in its appeal, and is too nationalistic and not moderate enough
    - India’s communist parties are also less radical than in other countries for the same reason that the BJP’s popularity has waned; they need more moderate policies
  + Judicial System:
    - Supreme court has 26 judges who are appointed by the president and serve until 65
    - Supreme court is a constitutional court with the authority of judicial review. However, their power to interpret the constitution is limited by the comprehensive nature of the constitution. Parliament can reverse court decisions by amending constitution (92 times in 60 years)
    - The court has a reputation for fairness
    - It can take decades before a case is heard
  + Corruption:
    - SEE SLIDES
  + India’s human development is extremely low (inequality-adjusted HDI)
  + Economy:
    - From independence to the 1980s, India practiced ISI and restricted foreign investment and trade. Classic state-led development strategy, successful at first then stagnation
    - REST IS ON SLIDES
  + Future challenges:
    - SLIDES